Titian. pinx.

Braun, Clément & Cie. sc.

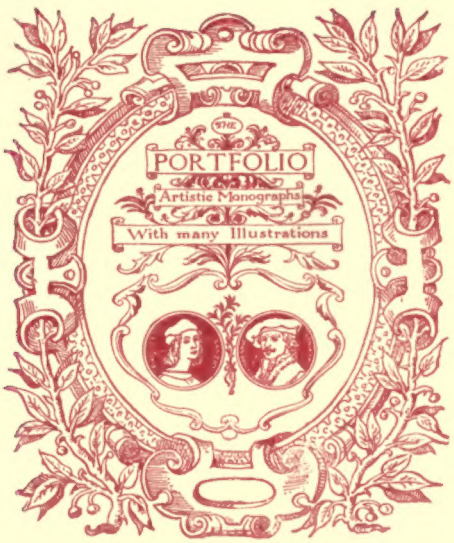
Alfonso I. of Ferrara and Laura de' Dianti.

THE PICTURE GALLERY OF CHARLES I.

By

CLAUDE PHILLIPS

Author of "Frederick Walker," "Antoine Watteau," &c., &c.



LONDON
SEELEY & CO LIMITED
38 GREAT RUSSELL STREET
1906

Reissue of the Edition of 1896

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT

THE PICTURE GALLERY OF CHARLES I.

"*Monsieur le Prince de Galles est le prince le plus amateur de la peinture qui soit au monde.*"—RUBENS A VALAVEZ, 10 Janvier, 1625.

CHAPTER I.

FROM the following remarks it will be seen that the writer has not in any way sought to reconstruct in its entirety the catalogue of the unrivalled collection which Charles I., within a space of hardly more than twenty years, succeeded in bringing together in the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Hampton Court, and the minor royal residences of which the chief were Greenwich, Nonesuch, Oatlands, and Wimbleton Even now that we possess so much information in further confirmation of the imperfect yet inestimable catalogue of Vanderdoort, first brought forward by Vertue, such a task could be but very incompletely performed, so many are the gaps which yet remain to be filled up, so curt and yet so vague are the descriptions of the pictures and works of art in the inventories other than Vanderdoort's catalogue. When the paintings have retained their original frames or straining boards, the royal brand (a crown surmounting a C.P. or a C.R., as the case may be) helps out the starved, twisted descriptions, and enables us to earmark the works to which they refer in their present resting-places in the public and private galleries at home and abroad. In many other cases we may, supported by our knowledge of the *provenance* of the pictures, form conjectures closely bordering upon certainty. In a large

number of instances, however, we cannot even vaguely guess at this period what the vaguely described works were; whether masterpieces, known to us now under other designations, or paintings then generically classed under great names, but which we should now put down to pupils and followers whom the seventeenth century had already lost sight of or merged in the great central names of art. Still, it may be assumed that we now know the main facts connected with the rapid acquisition of Charles's treasures, and the main works which gave to his collection, as a representation of what the perfected art of painting had achieved up to his time, an unrivalled splendour, if by no means an absolute completeness. It appears unlikely that at this stage any further material of striking importance will be forthcoming to help the student out with his conjectures, and enable him to supply the blanks which still provokingly baffle his attempts.

Enough, and more than enough is known, all the same, to place beyond doubt the high level of King Charles's connoisseurship, and to reconstitute his marvellous gallery in its essential features. Whoever engages upon such a task will be filled with an astonishment and a regret, which cannot but grow more and more poignant, as he groups together again in the mind's eye the treasures which are scattered now through the galleries of Hampton Court, Windsor, Buckingham Palace, and some private collections at home; as he sees how abroad the Louvre, the Museo del Prado of Madrid, the Vienna Gallery, and those of St. Petersburg and the Hague—to name only the principal museums thus enriched—are now splendid with the spoils which were with such fatal improvidence handed over to the royal and private *dilettanti* of Europe after the closing tragedy of the king's trial and execution. Wonderful as are, or were, the collections which the aristocratic amateurs of the eighteenth century succeeded in bringing together, comprising, as they did, the noblest examples of Italian, Netherlandish, German, and, within much narrower limits, of French art—even these can hardly suffice to console us for the loss of what the ill-fated king had accumulated, with a passionate enthusiasm which was sustained, if his contemporaries are to be believed, by the keenest and most intelligent connoisseurship. And now, alas! the superb private collections thus formed by England's great houses are being scattered to the four winds of

Charles I. By Sir Peter Lely, after Van Dyck. Dresden.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

heaven, are resolving themselves into their component parts with a rapidity so alarming that the National Gallery and the dwindling band of the higher collectors at home cannot absorb a tithe of what is offered to them. It is the museums of Berlin, of Dresden, of Brussels, of Antwerp, of the Hague and Amsterdam, and, above all, the private collectors of France and the United States, whose glory is increased as our own is diminished. The extent and value of our artistic exports increases from year to year, while the imports, especially now that Italy wisely resists to the utmost any further attempt to filch away her priceless inheritance, are too insignificant to afford any compensation for the constant drain upon our accumulated treasure.

The earlier half of the seventeenth century was pre-eminently the time of the great collectors—great, not only in the sense that they collected, or sought to collect, great works, but that they sought to acquire as many of them as they could. They were the *gourmets* certainly, but also the *gourmands* of their kind. The point of view in the fifteenth century, and to a certain extent also in the sixteenth, had been another. Works of art were, as a rule, ordered of artists with a definite object, and for a definite place; and movable pictures, other than portraits, even when they dealt with the subjects of classical antiquity, with mediæval romance, or allegory, were, as a rule, executed with a view to the particular function which they were to fulfil, and to the company in which they were to find themselves. It is only by degrees, as sacred works, secular pieces, and portraits were by degrees, as it were, uprooted, to be detached from their true centres and converted into floating treasure, that the galleries of the modern type began to be formed. A collector who stands midway between the mediæval and early Renaissance type of the protector of art and artists, and that of the modern *dilettante*, is the great Isabella d'Este Gonzaga, Marchioness of Mantua. Keenest and most intelligent of connoisseurs, able and even hard in driving a bargain, indefatigable in her efforts to obtain "something from the hand" of all the most renowned Italian artists of her time, she not only assumed to sit in judgment on the painters of whom she constituted herself the patron, but, with or without the aid of the court humanists, often dictated to them the subject-matter, and even the

pictorial distribution, of the works which she destined to adorn her apartments. This was notoriously the case with the famous *Parnassus* and *Wisdom Vanquishing the Vices*, by Andrea Mantegna, now with the two companion pieces of Lorenzo Costa, and the very weak *Combat between Love and Chastity* of Perugino, in the Louvre. The notes of the so-called *Anonimo* of Jacopo Morelli, a record of artistic travel in the first half of the sixteenth century, probably written by Marcantonio Michiel, a patrician of Venice, furnish proof that at that time there existed in Venice and throughout Northern Italy small but choice collections, in which were treasured the most precious things of both living and deceased Italian masters.

We know Francis I. as the splendid and gracious patron of Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Benvenuto Cellini, Rosso, and Primaticcio—as an art-loving prince, who not only undertook great pictorial enterprises, such as the decoration of the Château of Fontainebleau, but coveted and obtained some of the most famous paintings of his time, among which are the familiar Leonardos and Raphaels which constituted the foundation of the French royal collections, and are now one of the chief glories of the Louvre. It is hardly necessary to touch upon the close relation which bound Titian to Charles V., and not much more so to point out that Philip II. continued to be a consistent patron of the same great Venetian master down to his last days, taking of him not only religious and allegorical works, and portraits, but some pieces savouring very strongly of the joys of this earth. Philip indeed, although he was the patron not only of Titian, but of Antonio Moro, of his own Sanchez Coëllo, of the Cremonese Sophonisba Anguissola, the Milanese sculptors Leone and Pompeo Leoni, and a good number of other artists of distinction, must be regarded more as a collector in the modern interpretation of the word, than as a patron of art in the higher sense in which those splendid princes of an earlier time, Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, Lorenzo de' Medici, Pope Leo X., and the Emperor Maximilian I. were its protectors.

Henry VIII. of England would not, we know, in kingly pomp and material splendour lag behind his brother sovereigns and rivals. He evidently deemed—and wisely too—that it was part of his royal state to hold in close dependence on him limners of note, whose chief task should be to

portray the ample splendours of the royal person, to furnish counterfeit presentments of court favourites and notabilities, and to commemorate events in which the king filled the chief *rôle*. Though he was the patron of Holbein and of the Anglo-Flemish group over which his influence radiated, as of the curious Veneto-Ferrarese painter Girolamo da Treviso, Henry cannot be called an art-loving prince in the sense that Francis I. of France deserved that title. We have in two great manuscript volumes at the British Museum (Harleian MS., 1419) the inventory taken after his death of his possessions in the royal palaces, including furniture, wearing-apparel, precious tapestries, and pictures, or "tables" as they were designated. Here the pictures are furnished with short but clear descriptions of their subject and their material aspect, which yet absolutely ignore as a thing of no importance the name of the artist. It is only fair to point out that not the royal owner, but the ignorant valuer making the inventory after his death may have been answerable for this in many cases fatal omission.

Queen Mary Tudor was at any rate painted by two of the most admirable among the Northern portrait-painters of her time, Antonio Moro (Antonie Mor) and Lucas de Heere. The sober magnificence of her apparel, and the exquisite artistry of the jewels which she wore afford proof that she had more taste and discretion in matters bordering upon the regions of art than her fantastic half-sister, the great Elizabeth. But for other patronage of painters in her short and troubled reign, there was little or no time. The art of the world had, after the great climax achieved by the painters and sculptors of the Renaissance in its full maturity, sunk almost to its nadir in the latter half of Elizabeth's reign. In England its state was more hopeless, if anything, than elsewhere, though the darkness was brightened by those exquisite miniature painters, Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver. How absolutely devoid of taste in regard to such things the Virgin Queen was is proved by the boundless extravagance and grotesque exaggeration which marked the fashion, or rather the ever-varying fashions, of her costumes. The world had hardly before seen such monstrosities in sumptuous wearing apparel; they were indeed only to be surpassed in perverse ingenuity by those which Spanish etiquette made *de rigueur* at the frozen court of Madrid some half a century later.

The greatest collection made by any one during the last years of the sixteenth century, and the one which no doubt constituted the ideal upon which the royal and noble *dilettanti* of the succeeding time, both at home and abroad, based their aspirations, was that brought together by the Emperor Rudolph II. at Prague, and consisting not only of pictures and statues of the highest celebrity, but of bronzes, gold and silver plate, precious stones, rock crystals curiously wrought, ivory carvings, faïence, medals and coins, and mathematical instruments. As arranged in the imposing fortified palace of the Hradschin at Prague, it excited the wonder —say the contemporary accounts—of the entire world. Included among the pictures were the *Jupiter and Io*, and the *Ganymede* of Correggio, the *Amor* of Parmigianino, and most of the famous Dürers which now form part of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. This renowned collection was not long to remain intact. Having been already repeatedly plundered during the Thirty Years' War, it was finally broken up and completely scattered in 1648, when the Swedes made themselves masters of the Hradschin.

James I. of England contented himself with the services of those excellent but unimaginative portrait-painters Vansomer, Daniel Mytens, and Cornelius Janson van Ceulen, but there is considerable evidence that young Henry, Prince of Wales, showed an initiative in such matters which it is not easy to account for, save as an inheritance from his grandmother, Mary Stuart, who was bred at the Valois court in a more stimulating artistic atmosphere than that of England. Henry left behind when he died not yet counting nineteen years, a collection of pictures and *objets de vertu* which formed the nucleus round which the great collection of Charles I. afterwards gathered itself, but the more important component parts of which the writer has found it somewhat difficult to ascertain.

Certain relatively unimportant pieces bearing his royal brand, an H. crowned, are at Hampton Court, and are duly noted in Mr. Law's *Historical Catalogue.* The best portrait of the comely and accomplished Henry Stuart, whose delight was, no doubt, in art, music, and dancing, but who, according to his own account was still fonder of "arms and horses and sports," is that *Henry Prince of Wales, and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex hunting*, of which there are two examples, one No. 400 at Hampton Court, the other at Wroxton.

To say that Charles, who at the date of his brother's death was but a

boy of twelve years, succeeded to his brother's collection, and thereupon began to develop that taste which was soon to make of him one of the keenest connoisseurs and the most enthusiastic collector of his time, is an exaggeration or rather a condensation of the probable circumstances of the case. It cannot have been until some years later that he entered into formal possession of his brother's treasures, and it is not much before 1620 or 1621, that we obtain evidence of his activity as a collector, and his precocious critical power in such matters.

The great Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, fills, and fills nobly, the part of artistic Mæcenas during the two reigns, and to him has been given the title, "Father of *vertu* in England," one which to-day savours too much of Wardour Street and miscellaneous bric-à-brac to sound well as an encomium of the august and gracious nobleman in whose honour it was coined. Far more worthily is he described by Evelyn as "the great Mæcenas of all politer arts, and the boundless amasser of antiquities." It was indeed as a collector of antique marbles, inscriptions, and gems that his chief celebrity was acquired, although his collection of pictures comprised an unrivalled series of Holbeins, works by Albert Dürer, Venetian canvases of price, and famous drawings by the great masters, a striking record of which treasures is in many cases furnished by the engravings of his *protégé* Wenceslaus Hollar. Well known as are the main facts in connection with the Arundel collection, it may not appear altogether superfluous to recapitulate a few of them.

Lord Arundel had spent several years of his early manhood in travelling through Italy, and had there laid the foundation of that taste for art and archæology which was to bear such magnificent results. The Arundelian or Oxford marbles were purchased for him in 1624, by Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Petty, whom, together with John Evelyn, he had employed to collect marbles, books, statues, and other curiosities in Italy, Greece, and Asia Minor. Some of the statues and the bulk of the inscribed marbles, including the much-discussed Parian Chronicle, or *Marmor Chronicon*—so long a bone of contention between scholars and archæologists—are preserved in the collection of the University of Oxford, to which they were presented in 1667 by Arundel's grandson, Henry Howard, afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk.

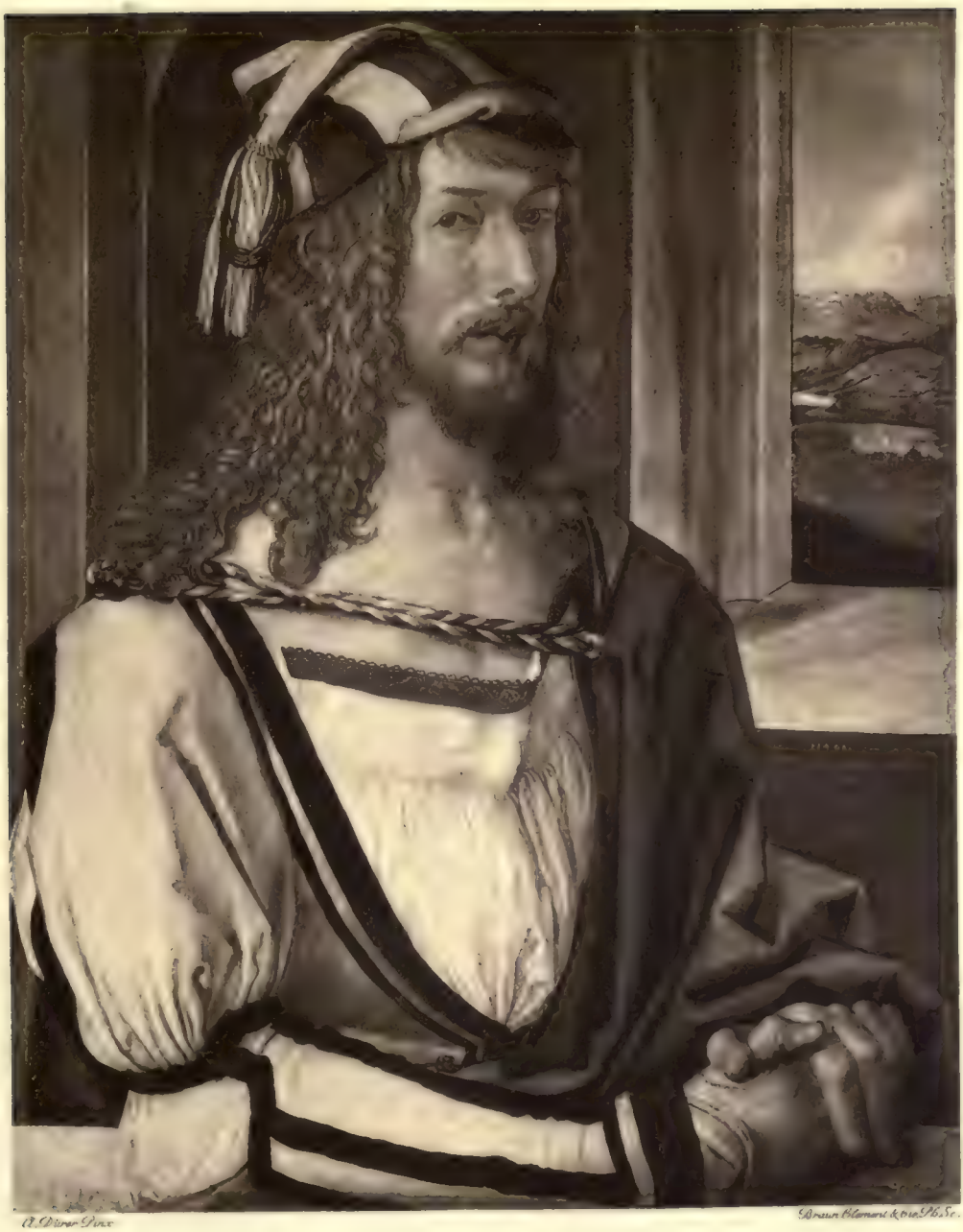
The busts and some of the marbles form part of the collections of the

Portrait of Albrecht Dürer the Elder. By Albrecht Dürer. Syon House.
From the engraving by Hollar.

Pembroke family at Wilton House; the gems descended to the Marlborough family, in whose possession they remained until the recent dispersion of the Blenheim collections.

Among the pictures we note as having passed through the Earl's hands —in this case as intermediary only—the *Portrait of Albert Dürer by Himself*, 1498 (Madrid), and *Portrait of Dürer's Father*, of 1497 (Syon House), both of which, as will be seen, are afterwards found in Charles I's. collection. There was also in the collection, as Hollar's print shows, the *Lady of the Fürleger Family* of 1497, now at the Stædel Institut of Frankfurt-am-Main. The wonderful series of Holbeins, which a panegyrist with measureless exaggeration described as being "more of that exquisite painter Hans Holbein than are in the world besides," included among many other things the great full-length *Christina of Danemark Duchess of Milan*, once, as the inventory already referred to shows, in Henry VIII.'s collection; the original *Edward VI. as an Infant*, now in the Provincial Gallery at Hanover; the *Duke of Norfolk*, the original of which is at Windsor Castle, while an old copy supplies its place at Arundel; the *Dr. John Chambers, Physician to Henry VIII.*, now in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna; the *Anne of Cleves*, now in the Louvre, or a picture identical with it in design; a *Jane Seymour*, which cannot have been, and from Hollar's engraving does not appear to be, that now at Vienna. But the most precious section of the Holbein collection was perhaps that unique series of studies in black chalk, heightened with colour, portraying notable personages of Henry VIII.'s court, many of them the preliminary studies for still extant portraits in oils by the Bâle master.[1] This great series of drawings which was subsequently to go through so many strange vicissitudes before it found a final resting-place in the royal collection at Windsor Castle, was the subject of an amusing deal. It was, as we find from an entry in Vanderdoort's catalogue of the King's pictures, exchanged by Charles with the Earl of Pembroke, for the *Little St. George*, of Raphael, and then by the latter immediately passed on to that Holbein collector *par excellence*, the Earl of Arundel, but in exchange for what picture or work of art we do not learn. If Charles appears to have

[1] The Windsor drawings were last publicly exhibited at the Tudor Exhibition, held at the New Gallery in 1890.



Albrecht Dürer.

acted somewhat lightly in the matter, and with an insufficient appreciation of the treasure he was allowing to slip through his fingers, it must be urged in his defence that he obtained in return a genuine Raphael of the purest water, and one belonging of right to the Royal House of England.

Some of the examples of sixteenth-century Venetian art included in the Earl's great collection were sent over to him as early as 1615, by Sir Dudley Carleton, then ambassador to the Venetian State, and others more important were among those originally purchased by Carleton for the Earl of Somerset. The latter Lord Arundel had the good fortune to obtain from the king in 1616 as a gift upon the confiscation of the favourite's property.

This addition of pictures included Venetian canvases, for which Somerset had paid Sir Dudley Carleton a sum of nearly £900. Among these last were "The *Susanna*, of Tintoretto; the *Benediction of Jacob*, of Tintoretto; the *Queen of Sheba*, of Tintoretto; the *Samaritan Woman*, of Tintoretto; *Ceres*, *Bacchus and Venus*, of Tintoretto; *The Labyrinth*, of Tintoretto; three pieces by Paolo Veronese, the *Beheading of St. John* by Bassano Vecchio; the *Venus* of Titian, and the *Shepherds*, of Andrea Schiavone."

It is to this eminent diplomatist and negotiator that we owe the first importation of fine Venetian works into England. It is no doubt in a great measure to his enthusiastic efforts, in this direction, during his official residence of three years at Venice, that must be traced the passion for the sixteenth-century masters of the Venetian city and territory which suddenly flamed up with such wonderful results among the royal, noble, and citizen collectors of England and the Netherlands.

Sir Dudley Carleton, afterwards Baron Carleton and Viscount Dorchester, had been appointed to Venice in 1612 as the successor to Sir Henry Wotton, and while rapidly acquiring there the reputation of one of the most sagacious and skilful diplomatists in Europe, he found time to conduct negotiations for the acquisition of pictures and works of art with a tact and a success no less remarkable. He married Anne, daughter of the learned Sir Henry Saville, who, from letters cited by Sainsbury in the above-quoted work, appears to have been not less enthu-

[1] *Original Unpublished Papers, illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, &c. W. Noël Sainsbury. 1859.

siastic than her lord in the searching out and acquisition of works of art on behalf of her friends and patrons. It was when Sir Dudley Carleton was recalled from Venice and sent to the Hague, in 1616, that he first entered into correspondence and perhaps came into personal contact with the Titian of Flanders, Peter Paul Rubens, thus laying the foundation of those relations with the English crown which were established by the choice of the great Antwerp master in 1621 to decorate the ceiling of Inigo Jones's Banqueting House at Whitehall, and culminated in the subsequent diplomatic and artistic connection of Rubens with the court of Charles I.

Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales, outgrowing the extreme physical debility of his childhood, had grown to manhood, a cavalier not less vigorous than elegant, skilled in all manly exercises, bearing himself with dignity and modesty, and showing a singular and almost exaggerated shrinking from coarseness whether in speech or action. He had an exquisitely attuned ear for music, and an innate love of art and power of discriminating artistic excellence, which ripened even some years before his accession in 1625 into connoisseurship of a rare order.

The stories given in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, with a view not only to affirm this connoisseurship, but to show him a proficient in draughtsmanship so far advanced that Rubens himself did not disdain to correct his drawings, are not so supported by trustworthy evidence as to make it necessary that they should be here retailed. As uncorroborated is that other pretty tale, showing the prince able to distinguish in a painting two different hands, neither of them previously known to him—a piece of art-criticism affirmed, the story goes on to say, by subsequent proof. Loosely knit and vague as these legends appear to us in Walpole, they yet serve a purpose in demonstrating that Charles was esteemed in his own time and subsequently a genuine art-lover, a judge well able to discriminate between the wheat and the chaff, and not merely an ostentatious splendour-loving *dilettante* like his bosom friend, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. In 1621 we find authenticated evidence that the prince, who is of the same age as the century, already has what is styled a gallery, and that, with the confidence in his own opinion which is characteristic of the youthful connoisseur, he does not scruple to sit in judgment on the works of one of the greatest living masters of his time. Lord

Danvers, afterwards Earl of Danby, takes considerable pains to obtain a painting from the hands of Rubens, and at the same time sends a *Creation* by Bassano to be repaired by him. He is then commissioned to paint a picture for the gallery of Charles, Prince of Wales. The picture fails, however, to command the approval of Lord Danvers, who complains to Sir Dudley Carleton that in every painter's opinion the Flemish master has sent a piece scarce touched by his own hand, and the positions so forced that the prince will not admit the picture into his gallery.[1] His lordship expresses the wish that the famous man will do some one thing to register or redeem his reputation in the royal house and to stand among the "many excellent works which are here (at St. James's) of all the best masters in Christendom." He adds that Prince Charles at that time possesses of his paintings only *Judith and Holofernes*, of little credit to his great skill.[2]

There can be no reasonable doubt that it was the romantic journey undertaken by the prince in 1623 to Madrid, at the instigation and under the guidance of foolish firebrand Buckingham, in order to secure and bring back as his bride Philip IV.'s sister, the Infanta Maria, which served to give a still further development to his discriminating enthusiasm for the art of painting. What the portrait of the Infanta was which was shown to the prince in 1622, when the idea of the informal visit to Madrid was just broached, the writer has been unable to ascertain. There is little pretence that Charles cared for the match at this period, save as furthering his *idée fixe*, the restoration of the

[1] The picture appears to have a *Caccia* or hunting-piece (Noël Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers*, &c.).

[2] This cannot be that splendid night-piece, the *Judith with the head of Holofernes*, in the Brunswick Gallery, which belongs to Rubens's late time (after 1630). It is beyond reasonable doubt the *Judith cutting off the head of Holofernes* (engraved by Corn. Galle), which, according to M. Max Rooses, was painted before 1611. Rubens, in a letter dated 13th September, 1621, to William Trumbull, speaks by way of excuse of this last as "celle d'Holofernes laquelle j'ai fait (*sic*) en ma jeunesse," which would mean during the Italian period. He winds up this letter: "Quant à Sa Majesté et son A. Mons. le Prince de Galles, je serai toujours bien aise de recevoir l'honneur de leurs commandemens, et touchant la sale au nouveau Palays, je confesse d'estre par un instinct naturel plus propre à faire des ouvrages bien grandes (*sic*) que des petites curiositéz. Chacun à sa grâce; mon talent est tel que jamais entreprise, encore quelle fust desmesurée en quantité et diversité de suggets, a surmenté mon courage."

Palatinate to his beloved sister Elizabeth, and her husband the Elector Palatine. How far this point of view was modified, and whether Charles conceived at Madrid a veritable passion for the Infanta, who from the very beginning had from scruples of conscience been filled with an absolute loathing for the alliance, it is difficult to decide. When we see him, the royal gentleman of reserved and dignified manners, so far breaking through the inflexible rules of Spanish etiquette as to address to the Infanta at a public reception words of love, and even to leap walls and intrude upon her privacy with an ungainly and unconvincing show of gallantry, we seem to have for the nonce the soul of parvenu Buckingham animating the body and directing the actions of Charles Stuart. At any rate the Infanta Maria, whose youth and feminine charm were not so absolutely obliterated by her court costumes, as were the attractions of the Spanish princesses later on in the reign, was well worthy, without being absolutely a beauty, to inspire such a passion. The attractive half-length by Velazquez, in the gallery of the Prado (No. 1072), painted some few years after Charles's adventures, comes much nearer to the expression of youthful vivacity and charm than Philip's court painter ventured to approach in any other presentment of a royal Spanish lady. It well gives the unalterable sweetness of the devout princess, but not as convincingly as does the full-length in the Berlin Gallery (No. 413*c*), that rare self-possession which enabled her to meet with the impassive coldness and dignity prescribed by the situation the embarrassing show of passion made by the prince on the occasion just now referred to.

Velazquez migrated definitively to Madrid in the same year which was marked by the memorable visit of Charles and Buckingham, but his formal appointment as court painter was not made until after the prince's departure. Shortly before he left the Spanish capital Charles sat to the young Sevillan painter, who was but a year older than himself. Velazquez had not time to make more than a sketch, for which he received a hundred escudos. The prince does not appear to have taken it away with him, since no trace of it is to be found in the royal collections or the inventories. It may therefore be surmised, though there is nothing particular to support the conjecture, that he intended the picture for the Infanta, or that, already wavering when he left Madrid, he deliberately left it behind

when he took with him so much that was precious. Though it must have been in the first and least attractive manner of Velazquez, like the early portraits of Philip himself, it would have been of inestimable value as depicting the prince with that objective truth of which Philip's painter had the secret, just at the exact period when there is little or nothing to show what he looked like. The earliest record that we possess of Charles Stuart is the charming portrait now in the collection of the Duke of Portland, showing him at the age of five or six years in a long green velvet frock laced with gold and crossed by a red baldric, with a hat and feather on a table by his side. He holds a pistol to his hip with one hand, while the other rests on his sword. This is now absurdly given to Daniel Mytens, who would not have been more than sixteen at the time it was painted. In the catalogue of King James II.'s pictures it, or an exactly similar picture, is mentioned thus: "No. 91. King Charles the First at length in coats, with hat and feather, by Paul Vansomer." The eyes of the little man in this picture are already those sad ones of the later time. Then we have the grisaille of Balthasar Gerbier,[1] done when the Prince of Wales was sixteen; we have the engraved medallions and the prints of the De Passes, who portrayed both James and his two sons; we have the coldly faithful, impassive portraits of Daniel Mytens, of which the finest and the least impassive is, perhaps, that painted of the young king in 1627, with a background of stately architecture by Steenwyck, now in the Royal Gallery at Turin. Velazquez's sketch would have just filled up the gap, and might have thrown some new light on a personality which we cannot now, if we would, dissociate from Van Dyck's pensive, courtly presentments. The collections of the king contained nothing from the hand of the Spanish master, since it is impossible to rank as more than atelier pieces, at the most, the portraits of Philip IV. and his first consort, Elisabeth de Bourbon, which came to England at some period subsequent to the prince's visit, and are now at Hampton Court.[2]

According to Lope de Vega, Charles[3] brought together with sin-

[1] In the Jones collection at the South Kensington Museum.

[2] Sold by the Commonwealth in 1651 for £40 the two.

[3] *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, von Carl Justi: Erster Band.

gular energy all such paintings as were to be had, estimating them at exaggerated prices, and paying for them accordingly. He sought to obtain from their owner, Juan de Espina, the two great volumes with the manuscripts and drawings of Leonardo da Vinci, formerly in the possession of the sculptor, Pompeo Leoni, but without success, as the owner destined them after his death for his own sovereign. One great volume of such manuscripts and drawings owned by Pompeo—but whether one of these two appears doubtful—is the famous *Codice Atlantico*, presented by Galeazzo Arconati in 1637 to the Ambrosiana of Milan. This, too, the emissaries of the English king had made strenuous but unavailing efforts to secure, offering, it is said, the great price of one thousand doubloons. The not less precious Windsor volume, which also belonged to Pompeo, as its cover still shows, was probably one of those seen and coveted by Charles in Spain, but there is no trace of it in his collection.[1] We hear, moreover, of a little *Holy Family* by Correggio painted on copper (!) and coming also from the collection of Pompeo Leoni, for which the prince vainly offered 2,000 escudos. This the king, with true Spanish courtesy, bought and offered to his guest. Charles went often to the house of D. Gerónimo Fures y Muñoz, a collector and an inventor of quaint painted symbolisms, to see his cabinet of paintings and drawings by the great masters of Italy. The Spaniard presented to him eight paintings and a number of curiously fashioned weapons. Out of Crescenzi's collection the prince obtained through Cottington, for the substantial price of 400 ducats, Rosso's *Contest of the Muses and Pierides*, which is now No. 369 in the Louvre. It was then, in all probability, that he acquired the flower-pieces by the Spanish painter, Juan Labrador; the *Night-piece with Shepherds*, by the Spanish Bassano, Pedro Orrente; and the *Portrait of Philip III.*, by Pantoja de la Cruz.[2] The prince's enthusiasm for Italian, and especially for Venetian art, was still further nourished on the masterpieces inherited by Philip IV. from his ancestors, Charles V. and Philip II. Charles spoke in such ecstatical terms of the so-called *Venere del Pardo* of Titian (the *Jupiter and Antiope* now in the Louvre), that the king, in accordance with Spanish custom, felt bound to offer the famous piece to him. He

[1] Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni: Eugène Plon.

[2] No. 406 at Hampton Court. Law's *Historical Catalogue*. 1881.

may not perhaps have expected to be held to his word, since we find [1] that the royal decree to the Marques de Flores Dávila to deliver the picture to Balthasar Gerbier, as representing Charles, is dated the 21st of June, 1623; notwithstanding which the marquis does not make the order of delivery to the keeper of the Prado until three weeks later (1st of July, 1623). Charles further took with him to England from Madrid the *Girl with the Fur Cloak*, by Titian. This Justi surmises to be the picture which passed in the eighteenth century from the Crozat collection into the Imperial Gallery of St. Petersburg, but it is clearly that genuine Titian, the No. 473 in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. He brought with him further a *St. John the Baptist*, attributed to Correggio, and the great full-length portrait of *Charles V. with the White Dog*, by Titian, which, as will be seen, returned a quarter of a century later to Madrid. According to the painter and art-historian, Vincente Carducho, the Spanish king had also presented to his guest other Titians of the mythological and undraped type; which, when he took his departure, already half estranged, save in mere externals, from the Spanish court, did not go with him. Among them were the *Diana and Actæon* and *Diana and Calisto* (not the small copies of these splendid late works by Titian, now at the Prado, but the originals, which were after presented by Philip V. to the Marquis de Grammont, and are now in the collection at Bridgewater House), the famous *Europa*, now in the collection of the Earl of Darnley, and the sensuous *Danaë* of the Prado. Charles's loving recollection of the pictures seen at Madrid is further evidenced by the fact that he employed Michael Cross (Vincente Carducho calls him Miguel de la Cruz) to copy the Titians in the palace there and at the Escurial, and six years after his abrupt departure was still trying to get back through Cottington the precious things left behind. The tradition is that the magnificent version done by Rubens of Titian's *Adam and Eve*, which, with the original, is now at the Prado, and there actually outshines it in its present injured state, was done at the instigation of Charles. In any case, he never owned this most glorious of copies, since it was, together with the copy of the *Europa* (also in the gallery of the Prado), purchased in 1640 by Philip IV. direct out of Rubens's estate.

A word must be said about this same Balthasar Gerbier d'Ouvilly,

[1] *Diego Velazquez*, &c., von Carl Justi : Erster Band.

whose name appears so prominently in the art negotiations of the reign, and especially in connection with Orazio Gentileschi, Rubens, and Van Dyck. Coming over in 1616 to England he entered the service of the Duke of Buckingham as architect, being employed by him "on the contriving of some of his houses," as well as in the capacity of miniature painter, and in due course being promoted to the office of keeper of York House and its artistic treasures. He accompanied the duke to Spain when he journeyed thither with Prince Charles, and made a portrait of the Infanta Maria, which was sent to James I. This is, perhaps, the poor miniature photographed in Lord Ronald Gower's *Historical Galleries of England*, with the inscription, "This is the picture of the Infanta of Spain that was brought over by the Duke of Bucks. She was to have married King Charles I."—an inscription which cannot, on the above assumption, have been contemporaneous with the miniature itself. Later on we find Gerbier actually carrying on political *pourparlers* with Rubens, first at Paris and then at Brussels, these having for their object the arrangement of a peace between England and Spain; and here we have no doubt the commencement of that close relation, both of business and friendship, which as Sainsbury's often-cited publication proves, united Gerbier to the splendid Antwerp master, whom Lord Dorchester, with a most appropriate grandiloquence of phrase, called "The prince of painters and of gentlemen." Later on we find this clever go-between as Sir Balthasar Gerbier, rich and honoured, giving splendid and costly entertainments to the court. The later part of his life is full of strange vicissitudes, which cannot be here recounted. Failing to regain his position at court after the Restoration, he had the energy to resume in his old age his former profession of architect, and actually in the year 1667 died in harness, while superintending the building of Lord Craven's house at Hampstead Marshall. He was a curious, doubtful personage this Gerbier, shifty and *remuant* from one end of his career to the other. His great anxiety would appear to have been to keep the king's patronage of artists and his expenditure on them well under his control, as his intrigues against Gentileschi and his curious passage with Van Dyck before the definitive migration of the latter to England, tend to show. To Rubens, as we shall see, motives of self-interest or friendship, or a mixture of both, kept him faithful to the end. Gerbier's name will live chiefly by reason of his connection with Sir Peter

Paul, and because the latter painted the famous *Family of Balthasar*

Portrait of Erasmus. By Holbein. Louvre.
From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.

Gerbier (engraved by McArdell), once held to be the work of Van Dyck. The large canvas at Windsor—which, by the way, was not in King

Charles's gallery, but was acquired much later for the Royal Collection—shows the same composition, with the addition of Gerbier himself, and no less than five other children.[1]

It must have been shortly after the prince's return to England that there was drawn up for him the scanty yet significant list of paintings and drawings given in Sainsbury's work (p. 355), and of which the following are some of the most important items :—

"A note of all such pictures as your Highness hath at this present, done by severall famous masters' owne hands by the life." [2]

"Item. A Venetian Senator, done by Joan Tibulini."

"A Head done to the wast by ould Quintin."

"Erasmus Roterodamus, donne by Holbyn."

"The Emperor at whole length by Titian."

"A head of a Venetian Senator, by ould Tintorett."

"King Phillipp the 2nd of Anthonio More."

"Your highnes owne picture by Blyemberch."

"The Marquesse Hamilton by Mytens."

"Titian and Arentyne (Aretino) by the yong Quintyn."

"Peeter Paule Rubens, one picture done by his own hand."

"(His) Queene Mother of France done by young Purbus."

Among the "limnings" (drawings) there is this one of ill omen :—

"The Queene of Scotland with the Dolphin of Fraunce, of Gennett's (Janet's) doeinge." [3]

[1] Jules Guiffrey, in his biography of Van Dyck, adheres to the view that the Windsor picture is a development by Van Dyck of Rubens's original theme, but Max Rooses, in his monumental work on the elder master, declares that neither Rubens nor Van Dyck had anything to do with the more elaborate version of the subject.

[2] Sainsbury says that, from No. 15 to the end, the list is in the handwriting of Balthasar Gerbier.

[3] That Sainsbury is probably mistaken in assuming that this list applied to paintings and drawings in the collection of James I., is shown by the fact that it included Titian's *Charles V.* brought back by Charles from Madrid and the *Erasmus* of Holbein. If the writer's hypothesis is correct, the list, notwithstanding its heading, could, of course, have included only a part of the Prince's pictures, since Rubens's *Judith and Holofernes* and the Madrid acquisitions, other than the *Charles V.*, do not appear in it. Later on, King Charles obtained from Louis XIII. the *St. John the Baptist* of Leonardo da Vinci in exchange for an *Erasmus* of Holbein and a *Holy Family* of Titian. This

Portrait of Rubens. By Himself. Windsor Castle.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

The portrait of Rubens by himself is the famous one at Windsor Castle, of which so many repetitions and copies exist, and among them the fine original in the Painters' Gallery at the Uffizi. It is in connection with this Windsor picture that the master furnishes some evidence of Charles's connoisseurship, which, even allowing for the hyperbolical style of the courtier, is of great value. In a letter to his correspondent Valavez, dated the 10th of January, 1625, he writes as follows :—[1]

"Monsieur le Prince de Galles est le prince le plus amateur de la peinture qui soit au monde. Il a déjà quelque chose de ma main, il m'a demandé par l'agent d'Angleterre résidant à Bruxelles avec telle instance mon portrait qu'il n'y eut aucun moyen de le pouvoir refuser, encore qu'il ne me semblait pas convenable d'envoyer mon portrait à Prince de telle qualité, mais il força ma modestie."

CHAPTER II

On Charles's accession, less than three months after the date of Rubens's letter, he set to work with redoubled energy, while maintaining in his employment the late king's painters,[2] to collect the finest obtainable pictures and works of art in different parts of the world, his most prominent agents, besides Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Balthasar Gerbier, whom we have already seen at work, being Nicholas Laniere, painter, expert, and musician,[3] and Daniel Nys, a

Erasmus—the masterpiece which has found a place in the Salon Carré of the Louvre—shows twice branded upon its back the C.P. surmounted by a crown, and bears on a piece of paper the following inscription : "Of Holbein his . . . . of Eramus (*sic*) Rotterdamus was given to . . . . Prince by Adam Newton." A red seal with the arms of the Newton family and their device, *Vivit post funera virtus*, appears side by side with the stamp of Charles. (Catalogue of Paintings in the Louvre. 1883.)

[1] Max Rooses, *La Vie et l'Œuvre de P. P. Rubens*, quoting Ch. Ruelens, *Pierre Paul Rubens, documents et lettres*, 1875.

We find the young king, on July 2, 1625, ordering a payment of no less than £120 to Daniel Mytens, "in full satisfaction for a copy of Titian's great Venus (apparently the *Venere del Pardo*)." It would have been interesting to see how the dry, formal Netherlander acquitted himself of this task.

[3] Nicholas Lanier, or Laniere, whose portrait by Van Dyck, once in the king's collection, was said to be the piece, upon the sight of which, Charles sent an express invitation to the painter to visit England, was Master of the King's Music, after

dealer or agent resident in Italy, whose correspondence as to the acquisition and transmission to England of the great collection of the Gonzagas at Mantua forms one of the most interesting sections of Sainsbury's *Unpublished Papers*, to which the reader must be referred for the full details of the negotiations. Daniel Nys had been employed, according to his own showing, in many a previous negotiation by his Majesty's ambassadors, Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Dudley Carleton, and had had large dealings with the Duke of Buckingham, who, according to Evelyn, purchased from him a great cabinet of medals and gems (intaglios) for £10,000. The King's special envoy, Nicholas Laniere, sent over "to provide for him some choice pictures" lodged at Venice with Nys, who some years after, in a petition to Charles, states that he kept the Sieur Lanier and his servant for some time in his house free of expense. In his letter to Endymion Porter, dated Venice, April $\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{7}$, and May $\frac{2}{12}$, 1628, Nys says: "Since I came into the world I have made various contracts, but never a more difficult one than this, and which has succeeded so happily. In the first place the city of Mantua and then all the Princes of Christendom, both great and small, were struck with astonishment that we could induce the Duke Vincenzo to dispose of them. The people of Mantua made so much noise about it that if Duke Vincenzo could have had them back again he would readily have paid double, and his people would have been willing to supply the money." . . . . Here Daniel Nys, like the Queen in Hamlet's play, "doth protest too much," and his tone is that of the professional dealer crying up his wares, or the professional agent striving to enhance the value of his services. Still there appears to have been more truth in his excessive statement than might have been imagined from its manner. A more dangerous competitor than the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Queen Mother of France, mentioned farther on in this letter, was Cardinal Richelieu, who used all his influence to secure the

having been in the service of his brother, Prince Henry. He had set to music more than one masque of Ben Jonson, and for one of them, *Lovers made Men*, had also painted the scenery (1617). He was also on several occasions, including the present memorable one, commissioned by the king to purchase pictures in Italy. On the sale and dispersion of the royal property he made a number of acquisitions from his master's collection, including his own portrait. Nicholas Laniere was also painted by Jan Lievens, whose portrait was finely engraved by Lucas Vorsterman.

Mantuan collection, and would have given the energetic negotiator a large profit on the transaction, over and above the prices he had agreed to pay. The famous gallery included among many other masterpieces the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar*, by Mantegna, the *Twelve Emperors*, *The Entombment*, the *Supper at Emmaüs*, the so-called *Alphonso and Laura Dianti*, with other fine Titians, the *Education of Cupid*, *Jupiter and Antiope*, *Flaying of Marsyas*, and *Allegory*, by Correggio, the once famous *La Perla* which still bears the name of Raphael, the *Nine Muses* of Tintoretto, the great *Holy Family* of Andrea del Sarto, now at Madrid, and many other important works, to which, as "Mantua pieces," reference will be made in due course. In the letter to Endymion Porter, already quoted, Nys says: "Signor Lanier departed this evening with two Correggios,[1] the finest in the world," and again continuing on May 12th, 1628, "He carries with him two pictures of Correggio *in tempera*, and one of Raphael, the finest pictures in the world." . . . .

In the same letter he says: "At present I am in treaty at Rome to procure the *St. Catherine* of Correggio, and hope to succeed." Upon the strength of this passage it has been sought to identify the picture referred to with a graceful *St. Catherine Reading* at Hampton Court, which was in the collection of James II., but is not proved to have been in that of Charles. It is more probable, however, that reference is here made to the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, now in the Louvre, which, in fact, did come from Rome. It did not, however, pass into Charles's collection, but was, according to the Louvre catalogue, presented by Cardinal Barberini to Cardinal Mazarin, after whose death it was acquired for the cabinet of Louis XIV.

Writing on $\frac{\text{Jan. } 23}{\text{Feby. } 2}$, 1629, to Lord Dorchester (Sir Dudley Carleton) Nys states, evidently with some trepidation, that he has bought from the Duke of Mantua for the king's account, there being no time to obtain

[1] Sainsbury is in error in suggesting that one of these two pictures might be the *Education of Cupid* of the National Gallery, although that picture was among the Mantuan acquisitions. The temperas are manifestly the *Flaying of Marsyas* and the *Allegory*, now in the section of cartoons and drawings of the Louvre. They are more accurately described than any other pictures in Vanderdoort's catalogue, and on the dispersion of the collection brought £1,000 each.

further special instructions, the great *Triumph* of Mantegna together with the duke's collection of marbles, and certain other pictures, disbursing for the whole £10,500 sterling. Again, there are profuse protestations that he had not the least idea of any interest in this or in the other good purchase, and that he felt sure he should attain by it both thanks and honour, other than which he did not seek. Charles is stated to have paid in all £18,280 14*s.* 8*d.* for the treasures of the Gonzagas, but it is a little difficult to make up the exact sum total from the payments stated sometimes in one coinage, sometimes in another, and made not *en bloc* but at various times. It is a mistake to suppose, all the same, that the king purchased the whole collection. There remained behind among other things the famous *Parnassus* and *Wisdom Vanquishing the Vices* of Mantegna, the two Lorenzo Costas and the Perugino, all of which then adorned the *Studio* of Isabella Gonzaga, but were torn from Mantua when the city was sacked in 1630. Her portrait, too, by Titian, now in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, must have been in Mantua until the seventeenth century, since it was copied there by Rubens.

It was on the advice and through the instrumentality of Rubens that in 1630 King Charles purchased what the modern world holds to have been his greatest treasure—the series of the seven world-famous cartoons of Raphael, *The Acts of the Apostles*. These had remained behind in Flanders ever since they were sent thither by Leo X. to serve as the models for the sumptuous tapestries, now again after many intermediate vicissitudes to be found in the Vatican, Raphael's designs having been retained by the Flemish weavers as a pledge for the debt incurred and still unsatisfied, and meanwhile stowed away with but scant respect. M. Eugène Müntz has in his volume, *La Tapisserie*, and again in *Raphaël, son œuvre et son temps*, shown that to Arras has quite erroneously been attributed the glory of having woven *The Acts of the Apostles*, her decadence as a centre of the art-industry of tapestry weaving being already in the first years of the sixteenth century complete. He demonstrates that the tapestries were woven at Brussels, in the celebrated atelier of Pieter van Aelst, who was in the employment of Philippe le Beau, and afterwards officially served Charles V. This being the case King Charles must have acquired the cartoons at Brussels

and not at Arras as generally supposed. That even he, enlightened connoisseur as he was, did not appreciate at its full artistic value the priceless possession which he had so easily obtained, is shown by the fact that when Vanderdoort was cataloguing the Whitehall and St. James's Palace pictures in 1639, he recorded that two out of the seven cartoons, which happened not to be at the Royal Tapestry Works of Mortlake, were stored along with a *Great St. George*, by Rubens, and other big things in the passage between the Banqueting Hall and the Privy Lodgings. The appraisers of the Crown pictures in 1649 evidently look upon them, too, as works belonging to an inferior category, though they are by Raphael, since they put upon them the low price of £300 for the set, while the Correggio temperas are valued and sold at £1,000 apiece, and Giulio Romano's big, ugly *Nativity* (No. 291 in the Louvre), originally painted for S. Andrea at Mantua, is deemed to be worth £500.

It may be as well to record here, though in doing so the chronological sequence is disturbed, that Charles purchased in 1637 the Italian collection of the German artist Frosley, described as the painter-in-ordinary of Emperor Rudolph II. This consisted of twenty-three pictures, including among other things the six spirited *grisailles* by or attributed to Polidoro da Caravaggio, now at Hampton Court, more than one piece ascribed by the Catalogue to Titian, and paintings by Guido Reni.[1]

In 1626 Orazio Gentileschi came over to England at the invitation of the Duke of Buckingham to paint ceilings for the palaces of the king and the nobility. He was then already sixty years of age, and his career had been long and laborious. Pisan by birth, he was nevertheless in style a Bolognese: for the eclectic school, founded by the Carracci, and of which Guido Reni was then the unchallenged leader, overshadowed more or less the whole of Italy. He had painted much in Rome for Clement VIII. and the cardinals, collaborating with his friend Agostino Chigi, the landscape painter. He then worked at Genoa and Turin, and subsequently proceeded at the invitation of the Queen Mother to Paris, where he met George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, who secured him for the English court. Here he painted at York House, the duke's palace, then did for the king ceilings at Greenwich, and many

[1] These were sold by the Commonwealth for £140, and reappear in James II.'s catalogue. (Law's *Historical Catalogue*.)

pictures, of which the only two remaining at Hampton Court are *A Sibyl*, No. 227, and *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, No. 229. Another of Gentileschi's pictures in the Royal Collection was the *Repose in Egypt*, now No. 223 in the Louvre. Nine of his paintings for Greenwich were sold together by the Commonwealth for £600, and are now in the great hall at Marlborough House. The masterpiece of the artist is, however, the *Annunciation* in the Turin Gallery, a vast canvas painted in 1621, a few years before he came over. Very characteristic of the Italian decadence to which it belongs, this show-piece attracts the beholder by the brilliancy of the illumination and the peculiar scenic artifice of the conception. Gentileschi's daughter, the fair, and if we are to credit contemporary scandal, frail Artemisia, followed him to England where, notwithstanding the favour with which she was received, she did not remain long. Her portrait of herself *Artemisia Gentileschi at the Easel*, No. 226, at Hampton Court, shows[1] her a painter of more savour and originality than her father. Other things done by her in England were *Fame with a Trumpet*, and *David and Goliath*.

Orazio's service to the king was splendidly rewarded with an annuity of £100, which was independent of the high prices paid for his pictures. Moreover, the king bore the expense of his son's education and travels in Italy, and furnished all his house from top to toe, at a cost if we are to believe the angry Gerbier of over £4,000—for those days a fabulous sum. Gerbier overhauling Gentileschi's accounts in a spirit of undisguised jealousy and mistrust[2] which does not appear, judging from the inflated accounts themselves, to have been without a considerable justification, has among many other items the following amusing outbursts, in which he combines the *rôles* of critic, accountant, and amateur detective: –

"Item after his arrival he importuneated the Duck so long, that Mr. Indimion Porter was forcett to solicitt for him £500
which was the 500 whaire with his son with a plott ment to go for Itally . . . . . .

"Item got for to buy Collors, beeinge a neew plott to putt upon the King, witnes Mr. Cary £150

[1] Sold by the Commonwealth in 1651 for £10.

[2] Sainsbury's *Unpublished Papers*, pp. 314–315.

"And after the sonne caeme back agayne maide beleeve that he had bin robde at sea and got an other somme which I cannot tell . . . . . .

"Gentilesco for this hath sent a Madelen which in regard of rare peeces of Titian, and better Masters than he, may be worth . . . . . £50"

. . . . . .

If Charles's temporary *engouement* for this well-trained, artificial Italian of a bad period is a little difficult to understand, it must be borne in mind that the greater luminaries had not yet risen upon the horizon; that he had not yet come into personal contact with Rubens, or recognised in Van Dyck the painter for whom he had so long waited.

It was in the spring of 1628, but a few months before the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, that Gerard Honthorst arrived in England, just in time to paint that well-known and particularly tiresome portrait-group, *The Family of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, No. 58 at Hampton Court, which in its stiff, awkward literalness gives but so faint an idea of the unrivalled personal beauty to which the duke owed his wonderful fortunes. The first picture of his which came to England was in all probability an *Æneas Flying from Troy*, sent by Sir Dudley Carleton as a present to Lord Arundel in 1621. Honthorst, though at this period not more than thirty-six years of age, had acquired some celebrity in Italy, especially for those night-pieces which procured for him the cognomen of *Gherardo dalle Notti*. Of this last class was a *Decollation of St. John*, by torchlight, seen and admired by Sandrart in the Church of the Madonna della Scala at Rome. Such pieces, too, are the *Joseph and Mary*, by lamplight, No. 383 at Hampton Court (*not* King Charles's collection), and *Singing by Lamplight* (No. 393 *ibid.*), which is said, but not proved, to have been the painter's presentation piece to the king. No. 128 in the same Gallery, is the portrait by Honthorst of the king's dearly-beloved sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, who inspired as many romantic and chivalrous attachments as her grandmother, Mary Stuart, but proved less fatal to her platonic admirers. This picture is the same which Sir Henry Wotton, by his will made on October 1st, 1637,[1] left to

[1] Law's *Historical Catalogue.*

the boy Prince of Wales in the following both stately and touching form of bequest :—"I leave to the most hopeful Prince the picture of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the clouds of her fortune."

One of the least fortunate of Honthorst's works, done in the service of Charles, is the bad and clumsy allegory which is placed in one of the great staircases at Hampton Court. Here, seated in the clouds, are Charles and Henrietta, as Apollo and Diana, to whom Mercury—on this occasion the Duke of Buckingham—introduces the Arts and Sciences, while several Genii drive away Envy and Malice.

Not even the genius of Rubens could make anything of a subject such as this. It wants the bold semi-realism, coupled with incomparable scenic splendour, of a Tintoretto or a Paolo Veronese.

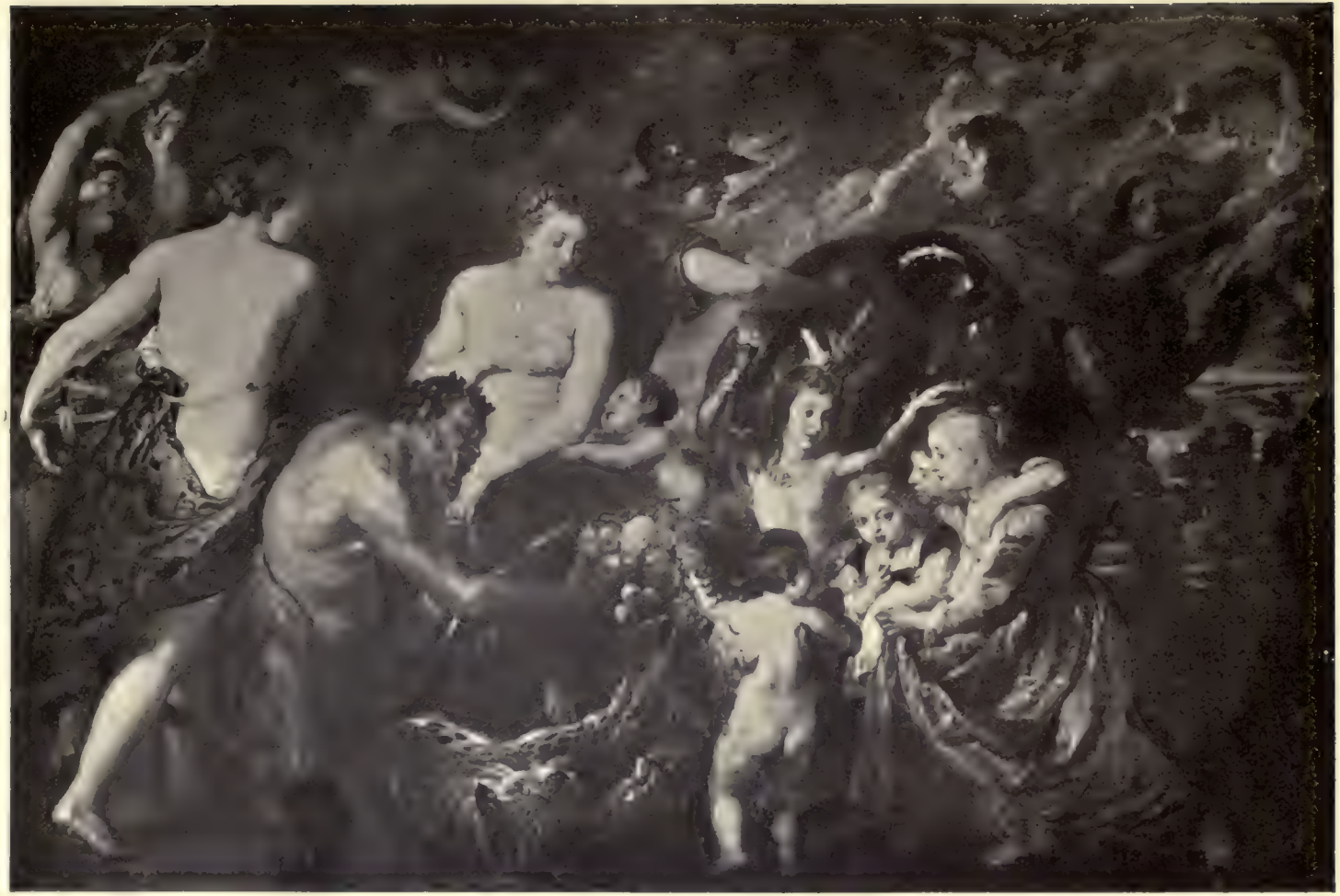
It was in August, 1628, after the assassination of Buckingham had removed the chief hindrance to a settlement, that Rubens entered upon his famous diplomatic mission to Madrid to negotiate the terms of a peace between England and Spain. This fruitful journey, with which we are not here directly concerned, had its sequel in the mission to England which Rubens undertook as the diplomatic representative of the Infanta Isabella, Regent of the Netherlands. The painter-diplomat reached this country between the 20th and 27th May, 1629, in company with his brother-in-law, Henry Brant, and with several attendants. Not much is known of his actual intercourse with the King on this occasion, and we can only guess that art as well as high politics must have been discussed between them. On the 23rd of September, 1629, Rubens proceeded to Cambridge with the Chancellor of the University, Lord Holland, the French ambassador, and other persons of distinction, and there received the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

The master remained some nine months in England, and there painted besides the sketches for the great ceiling of the Whitehall Banqueting House, the sumptuous *Peace and War* of the National Gallery, which he presented to the king. Technically a fine example of his splendid maturity, it is in conception one of those heavy, unimaginative, Netherlandish allegories, which well serve to show in what direction the limits of his immense power lay. Easily recognisable as the models for the *Peace*, and the group of children in the foreground are the wife and

offspring of Balthasar Gerbier, with whom Rubens had taken up his quarters during his sojourn in London. It was at this moment, no doubt, that he painted also the *Family of Balthasar Gerbier* already referred to. Charles had promised to confer knighthood upon Rubens, and we see by the letter which his mouthpiece, Gerbier, addressed on February 17th, 1630,[1] to Sir F. Cottington, that some disappointment was felt by the ambassador of the Archduchess Infanta that when he paid his visit of ceremony the King should not have fulfilled the expectations raised. On the 21st of February, however, the ceremony actually took place, and Sir Peter Paul received as a gift the sword enriched with diamonds with which it had been performed, besides a hatband of the same precious stones and a ring, which the King had purchased for the purpose from the obliging Gerbier at the price of £500.

We have seen that as far back as 1621 the Antwerp master had been talked of as the artist to be charged with the decoration of the great ceiling, but the commission was not actually given until 1629, when the price was fixed at £3,000. The ceiling pictures were completed in 1634, but did not reach England until October 1635, in consequence of all sorts of difficulties in connection with custom-house duties and other expenses, serving to show Charles already at this period hampered in his artistic enterprises by the lack of funds. Rubens had intended to give the finishing touches to his immense work when it had been placed in position, but ill health and the fear of his old enemy the gout prevented him. He therefore resolved, before despatching the canvases to "overpaint them at his own house," retouching and mending the cracks which had been caused through their having been rolled up almost a whole year, pending their transmission to England. Had he actually seen his ceiling pictures at Whitehall, he must have been struck by the clumsiness and the disproportionate dimensions of some of the figures, and not less by the heaviness of the whole decoration. The splendour of colour which we may, and indeed must, take for granted in a production which belonged to the period when Rubens, as regards pictorial virtuosity, was at his very highest, has vanished under successive renovations and restorations. As it now appears, blackened and dull in aspect, the work does nothing to enhance the reputation of the mighty Antwerper, who

[1] Sainsbury's *Unpublished Papers*.



Peace and War. By Rubens. National Gallery.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

probably took a less dominant part in its elaboration than he did even in the painting from his sketches of the vast Luxembourg series of canvases dedicated to the glorification of Henri IV. and Marie de Médicis.

It has been stated that in 1631 Jan Lievens, the fellow-student and imitator of young Rembrandt at Leyden, came over to England, was well received at court, there painted the portraits of the king and queen and their children, and after a sojourn of three years, retired to Antwerp. Documents have, however, been recently discovered establishing that Lievens was on February 6th, 1632, still at Leyden, so that we are left in some doubt as to this period of his career. It would be difficult at the present moment to point to any portraits—especially royal ones—painted by the artist in England, but that of Laniere (engraved by Lucas Vorsterman) may have been among the number.[1] The papers and correspondence exhumed by Sainsbury throw no light upon the subject. It appears, however, that Lievens did not reach Antwerp until 1635, so that the three preceding years remain to be accounted for.

To set out over again in detail the relations between the king and his favourite court painter, Van Dyck, would appear to be superfluous, so familiar are the main outlines of the story. He came to England once in 1621, before the great Italian journey which metamorphosed his style, and again in 1630–31, but it was only in 1632, when the king had seen the portrait of Nicholas Laniere, on which he had bestowed infinite pains, and a scene from Torquato Tasso, *Rinaldo and Armida*,[2] that he determined to secure Van Dyck, and attach him permanently to his person.

It has been seen that a number of artists of distinction had already defiled before Charles in addition to his father's painters, of whom Mytens was the most favoured. All these had derived honour and profit from their service to the king, and the best they could yield had been got out of them. The unique pre-eminence of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, both in art and diplomacy, and his close connection with the Spanish Regents of the Netherlands, made the permanent transfer of his allegiance out of the question. Moreover, it may fairly be inferred, since the Royal

[1] *Musée Royal de la Haye. Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 123.

[2] This has generally been supposed to be the picture in the Louvre, of which a small grisaille, from the Peel collection, is in the National Gallery.

Collection included only a moderate number of his works,[1] and no royal portraits, that the King's taste for his sumptuous art had its well-defined limits. When the mature style of Van Dyck, perfected by his contact with the great Venetians was revealed to Charles by the *Nicholas Laniere*, he seems to have divined that here at last was his man—the painter to whom the great office of portraying the King's Majesty, the royal consort, and the royal children could safely be confided. It has been said many times already, and yet it must be said once again, that never were limner and sitter in a more intimate and sympathetic relation the one to the other than Van Dyck and his royal master. At this stage, even with the aid of the portraits produced by Sir Anthony's predecessors in the royal favour, we cannot quite decide how far he found in the King's face that melancholy dignity, that suggestion of foreboding and impending tragedy which he imprinted upon the finest of his portraits, or how far he poetised the personality of Charles Stuart, by emphasising and still further refining those elements of the King's physique and character which were most in consonance with his own reserved, melancholy nature, and the undemonstrative dignity of his mode of conception.[2]

Sir Balthasar Gerbier, then the king's resident at Brussels, was charged with the negotiations for bringing over Van Dyck, and in the course of them he seriously offended the gifted young master, and very nearly brought them to an abrupt end. Thinking to please the king, Gerbier purchased in December 1631, and offered to him as a fine original from the hand of the painter a *Virgin with St. Catherine*, which was discovered by George Geldorp,[3] a Flemish artist then at Antwerp, who was in frequent correspondence with Van Dyck, to be only a copy. Gerbier, whose reputation either as a connoisseur, or in the alternative as a man

[1] There is no extant portrait of Charles I. by Rubens except as St. George in the *St. George and the Dragon* of Buckingham Palace. He painted the handsome favourite, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in 1625 (Pitti Palace, No. 324), and did of him also the fine equestrian portrait now at Osterley Park.

[2] The only exactly parallel instance is that contemporary one of Velasquez painting Philip IV., and here one cannot be sure that the icy self-possession of the Spanish king did not chill the blood of his great portraitist.

[3] This Geldorp was an indifferent painter who had worked in England in the last years of James's reign and the beginning of his successor's. He returned to England about this time, and it was in his dwelling that Van Dyck first took up his quarters. He had afterwards a large and by no means well-famed house in Drury Lane, in which a number of works belonging to the Royal Collection were subsequently stored for safety.

of honour, was at stake, fired up, maintaining the authenticity of the picture even against Van Dyck himself, whose attitude he attributed to a malicious desire by picking a quarrel to get out of his engagement to serve the King. Gerbier invoked the authority of Rubens as confirming the authenticity of his pupil's picture, and even went so far as to make a notarial declaration to that effect. Van Dyck retorted by a curt communication practically suspending the negotiations for his transference to London.

There is a fine *Virgin and St. Catherine* by Van Dyck in the collection of the Duke of Westminster,[1] revealing not only the usual influence of Titian, but with it a most pronounced reminiscence of Correggio's *Madonna and Child*, now in the Real Galleria Estense at Modena. If this were the picture in question we should be compelled to side with Gerbier against the painter, since it is an undoubted and fine example of his art. But there is nothing, so far as the writer is aware, to connect it with Gerbier's acquisition, though the conjecture is a permissible one that it is the original from which the former was copied. Notwithstanding all this, we find Van Dyck taking up his quarters in London in March or April 1632, and making England thenceforth until his death in 1641 his permanent domicile, though he undertook on several occasions journeys to Flanders and France. Some of the best of the so-called English Van Dycks were produced in the first year of the sojourn, when the master still retained the carefulness and solid finish of his third or Italo-Flemish manner, and married to it the incomparable elegance of his fourth. Among these were the great *Family Portrait* with king, queen, and two children (Windsor Castle), a full-length of the King, an exquisite half-length of *Henrietta Maria*, now at Longford Castle, the *Charles I. receiving a Wreath from Henrietta Maria*,[2] a *Gaston d'Orleans*, the noble half-length of the King, of which a surprisingly good copy by Lely, now in the Dresden Gallery, and reproduced on p. 7, is all that is left to us,[3] and the *Prince and Princess of Orange with their Son.*

[1] No. 51 in the Van Dyck Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery.

[2] The version once in Charles's collection belongs to the Duke of Grafton; another, with certain variations, is now at Buckingham Palace.

[3] The many admirers of this favourite and often reproduced *Charles I.* will find some difficulty in accustoming themselves to the idea that it is after all but the copy of

Charles I., Henrietta Maria, and two Children. By Van Dyck. Windsor Castle.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

We need not do more than enumerate here as belonging to the later years great equestrian portraits at Windsor and the National Gallery respectively—the *Charles I. in three aspects*, done as an instruction to Bernini, from which to execute the King's bust; and the magnificent *Charles I. attended by the Marquis of Hamilton* in the Salon Carré of the Louvre (about 1635).

In Carpenter's *Pictorial Notices of Van Dyck, &c.*, is published a precious memoir addressed by the court-painter to the King at some time in 1638 or 1639 (?), when his annual salary of £200 was already five years in arrear, and many pictures were unpaid for. Of this it will be useful to quote the main items, connecting them, so far as may be possible, with known works by the master :—

Mémoire pour sa Mag^tie. le Roi.

	£	£
Le Prince Henri	50	—
Le Roi â la ciasse	200	100
. . . . .	.	.
Le Prince Carles avec le ducq de Jorc (York), Princesse Maria Princesse Elizabet, Princesse Anna . . .	200	100
. . . . .	.	.
Une Reyne vestu' en blu'	30	—
Une Reyne mère	50	—
Une Reyne vestu' en blanc	50	—
La Reyne pour Mons^r. Barnino	20	15
La Reyne pour Mons^r. Barnino	20	15
. . . . .	.	.
. . . . .	.	.
Le Prince Carlos en armes, pour Somerset (House ?).	40	—
Le Roi en armes donné au Baron Warto . . .	50	40
La Reyne au d^o. Baron	50	40
Une piece pour le maison de Green Witz . .	—	—
Le Dessin du Roy et tous les chevaliers . . .	—	—

a lost original. The fact is, however, proved firstly by the technical qualities of the picture, and, secondly, by John Faber's mezzotint, exactly reproducing it, with the inscription, "From Sir Peter Lely's copy of the celebrated original, which was destroyed in the fire at Whitehall, anno 1697" (Catalogue of the Dresden Gallery, 1892).

There were in all no less than nineteen portraits unpaid for, besides the arrears of salary and moneys owing by the Queen on her private account. The second column shows the reductions on Van Dyck's prices made by the Lord Treasurer, if not by Charles's direction, at any rate with his assent. It may be imagined with what reluctance the King, so lavish in former days to a Gentileschi and men of his calibre, adopts such a course with his favourite, to save whose life a year or two later on he will in vain offer a reward of £300 to the court physician.

The two pieces described as *La Reyne pour M. Barnino* are the portraits destined to be delivered to Bernini, whom the Queen, delighted with the King's bust done from Van Dyck's indications, commissioned in a flattering autograph letter, dated from Whitehall in 1639 and written in rather indifferent Italian, to execute a companion portrait of herself. They are respectively the *Henrietta Maria, full face*, and the *Henrietta Maria in profile* at Windsor Castle. The pictures were probably not delivered, and it does not appear that the project was carried into effect. There is also at Windsor a half-length of *Henrietta Maria* in white satin, with the royal crown and some red roses beside her; and in the same gallery a very similar full-length.

It would take too long, indeed, to catalogue all the originals, repetitions, and copies in which the Queen appears in white satin. In the full-length *Henrietta Maria, with her dwarf Sir Jeffrey Hudson*, now belonging to the Earl of Northbrook (No. 35 at the Van Dyck Exhibition of the Grosvenor Gallery), the Queen is robed in blue. The similar picture, now owned by Earl Fitzwilliam, is described as having been presented by the King to the Earl of Strafford. The Gallery of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg now holds the companion full-lengths of Charles and Henrietta Maria from Houghton, the same which were presented by the King to Lord Wharton. Here Charles is depicted in armour with the Garter, and the Queen is in crimson, the whole canvas in which she appears being a harmony in reds (Nos. 609 and 610 in the Hermitage).

Of the portraits of the royal children, the earliest in date (about 1635), as it is, indeed, infinitely the finest, is the picture in the Royal Collection at Turin. We may indeed go beyond this and say that it is the finest of all Van Dycks of the late time, the most radiant in the pure

Queen Henrietta Maria. By Van Dyck. Windsor Castle.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

brilliancy of the colour and the delicacy of the silvery tone. It proves itself beyond question the earliest of the series, because Charles, Prince of Wales, is here depicted in frocks, whereas in the next picture he appears in a smart little suit of amber satin. The original of this last piece is at Windsor, but there is another example of almost equal merit in the Dresden Gallery (No. 1033). The original sketch for it is No. 183 in the Louvre, and the Earl of Clarendon possesses a brilliantly coloured little studio repetition of still smaller dimensions.

In the *Five Children of the King* at Windsor—the children being Charles, Prince of Wales, James, Duke of York, Mary, afterwards Princess of Orange, Princess Elizabeth, and the little Princess Anne, who died in infancy—the deterioration of the master's style, through haste and ill-health, is already apparent. The version of this last group in the Berlin Gallery has no serious pretensions to be considered as more than a school-piece or old copy. Last of all, judging by the young prince's apparent age, must have come the *Charles, Prince of Wales, in Half Armour*, at Windsor, or as Van Dyck himself calls it *Le Prince Carlos en armes pour Somerset*, of which a studio repetition belongs to the Duke of Rutland.

No picture of all those now enumerated had a stranger fate than the *Charles I. with the Marquis of Hamilton*, of the Salon Carré, called in Van Dyck's Memoir *Le Roi à la ciasse* (*chasse*). It was in the collection of the Baron de Thiers (a nephew of Crozat), almost the whole of which was absorbed by Catherine II. of Russia. The Comtesse du Barry purchased this picture, however, at the sale for 24,000 livres, on the strange ground that the Du Barry family were related to the Stuarts. Always a puppet in the hands of her political supporters and friends at court, she had been prompted to acquire the great Van Dyck for a special purpose. Louis XV. was to be induced by fear to deal a crushing blow at the Parliament of Paris, and to finally stamp out its opposition. La du Barry had the portrait hung in a prominent place in her apartment, and would constantly in her audaciously *canaille* way apostrophise the Well-Beloved thus: "*La France, tu vois ce tableau; si tu laisses faire ton parlement, il te fera couper la téte, comme le parlement d'Angleterre l'a fait couper à Charles.*"[1] After the death of her royal lover Du Barry ceded the

[1] Edmund et Jules de Goncourt: *La du Barry.*

picture to Louis XVI. for a thousand louis, and it thus passed to the Royal House of France.

The Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles II.). By Van Dyck. Windsor Castle. From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

The *Reyne mère* of Van Dyck's Memoir is no doubt identical with the portrait of Marie de Médicis, catalogued by Vanderdoort as "A

picture of the Queen Mother of France, sitting in a chair in a black habit, holding in her hand a handful of roses" (p. 111, No. 22). Of this type the best extant example is that now in the Borghese Gallery at Rome.

One of the last pictorial enterprises attempted during this final period of the reign, when black storm-clouds had already gathered, was the decoration of the queen's cabinet at Greenwich House, a recent construction by Inigo Jones. This she desired to have done, not by her mother's painter-in-chief, Rubens, but by Jordaens,[1] it may be on account of the saving in expense which would thus be effected. This economy Gerbier, the staunch friend and supporter of Rubens, opposes to the best of his power, suggesting that the latter shall do the ceiling, even though the cost be the greater by £240, and that Jordaens shall do the walls. Meanwhile, however, Rubens dies, and Jordaens evidently gets the commission and proceeds with the work, since he receives £100 on account, and is found to be dissatisfied and expecting more. The Greenwich Inventory makes mention, indeed, of "Eight pieces by Jordano," which are valued at £200. This can be none other than the robust Fleming Italianised for the occasion, and it may be inferred from the entry, and another making mention of ceiling pictures by Gentileschi, that Jordaens completely performed his share of the decoration, leaving that for which Rubens was in treaty to the Italian.

Lack of space prevents any more detailed reference to the other artists, some of them of high distinction, whom Charles employed, or to those whom he sought in vain to entice into his service. His great merit as a connoisseur and patron of artists was that while the Italian, and especially the Venetian, painters of the sixteenth century were next his heart, he showed a lively interest in his contemporaries, whether Italian, Flemish, Dutch, or French. He included in his collections, though it may be not on equal terms with its finest jewels, paintings by the Carracci, by Guido, by his own *protégés* the Gentileschis, by the chief of the *Tenebrosi*, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, by the too little appreciated Domenico Feti, and other Italians of less worth. He endeavoured to attract to England the Bolognese Albano, but failed, and is said to have addressed a like invitation to Carlo Maratta, who was, however, but twenty-four years old at the date of the King's execution.

[1] Sainsbury, *Unpublished Papers*.

He would have drawn to the English court the veteran Michiel Janson Mirevelt, then nearing the close of a well-furnished career, and if he did not seek to establish relations with Rembrandt, he at any rate owned no less than five canvasses by or attributed to him. We have seen that Velazquez painted Prince Charles in the days of his youth ; but the estrangement from the Spanish court consequent upon the rupture of the marriage negotiations and the choice of a French princess, must have prevented the bestowal of any further patronage in that quarter, even had it been contemplated.

Passing reference has been made to the famous bust[1] fashioned of the king by Bernini from the three heads done by Van Dyck, much as another Italian sculptor, Tacca, fashioned the equestrian portrait of Philip IV. now at Madrid from the painting by Velazquez sent to Florence for the purpose, and now in the Pitti Palace. The king had in his immediate employment in England Steenwyck the younger, whose exquisitely precise, skilful architectural pieces, many of them night-scenes, abounded in his collection, as in that of the Duke of Buckingham. Cornelis Poelemberg, "the sweet painter of little landscapes and figures," worked here for him, as is evidenced by a number of small paintings of the usual pastoral and mythological type at Hampton Court, besides the curious *Children of the King and Queen of Bohemia*, No. 643 there, with portraits of the seven little princes and princesses, among them the future Elector Palatine, Prince Rupert, and the Princess Sophia, mother of George I. This last was, however, probably painted in Holland ; it was sold by the Commonwealth to Mr. Decritz for £25. Gerard Ter Borch, then, according to dates, a mere boy, was over in England in 1635, but there is nothing to show that he came in contact with the court. There may be further cited Petitot, the enameller and copyist of Van Dyck's portraits, the sculptors Le Sœur (or Sueur) and Francesco Fanelli, Cleyn, the designer of tapestries, and Briot, the medallist. Among the Britons employed were Peter Oliver, Dobson, Cooper, Hoskins, Barlow, Jamesone, Gibson, Michael Cross (if he was indeed an Englishman),[2] the sculptor,

[1] This was sold by the Commonwealth for £800, and obtained back after the Restoration. It is believed to have perished in the great fire at Whitehall in 1698.

[2] It has been seen that Carducho spoke of him as Miguel de la Cruz. Vanderdoort gives his name as Michel de la Croy.

Nicholas Stone, his son, the copyist Henry Stone (known as "Old Stone), and others, to say nothing of Inigo Jones, whose finest achievements and designs belong, however, to the preceding reign.[1]

Of Charles's treasured pictures the majority of the famous works adorned, in Vanderdoort's time, St. James's and Whitehall palaces, and chiefly the Banqueting House of the latter, though a fair number of the finest pieces were hung at Greenwich, Hampton Court, and Somerset House, while other things of less value found a place at Nonesuch, Oatlands, and Wimbleton. His solicitude for their preservation is well shown by the circumstance that in 1637 he ordered that there should be constructed, at a cost of £2500, a new covered chamber for the performance of masques in the court adjoining Whitehall, "because the king will not have his pictures in the Banqueting House hurt with lights."

Mr. Hewlett, citing Scobell's *Acts of Parliament*, tells us that the letter which he left on his table, addressed to Colonel Whalley, his custodian at Hampton Court, on the day of his escape from that palace, contained injunctions "to protect his household stuff and movables of all sorts," and that it proceeded to specify three pictures there, which, not being his own, he desired to restore, with particular directions respecting their identification and ownership.

Parliament as early as 1645 began to sell the pictures at York House[2] "for the benefit of Ireland and the North," ordering that all such pictures and statues as were without any superstition should be sold, but that all such pictures as contained a representation of the "Second Person of the Trinity or the Virgin Mary should be forthwith burnt." Judging by the catalogues and inventories of the pictures and works of art subsequently appraised and sold by the Commonwealth, this part of the parliamentary resolution must have remained a dead letter. Some two months after the final downfall, with its tragic closing scene, the execution of the King, the House passed the vote that "the personal estates of the late king, queen, and prince should be inventoried, appraised, and sold,

[1] "Charles I. as a Picture Collector" (article by Henry G. Hewlett in the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1890).

[2] Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. There would appear to be some confusion as to this. York House belonged to the Duke of Buckingham.

except such parcels of them as should be thought fit to be reserved for the use of the State," and it was reserved for the Council of State to consider and direct what parcels of the goods and personal estates aforesaid were fit to be retained for the use of the State. Certain commissioners were at the same time appointed to inventory, secure, and appraise the said goods, and others, not members of Parliament, to make sale of the said estates to the best value. A certain stern rectitude, even in the administration of plunder, is apparent in the provision that the first proceeds shall go towards satisfying the debts and servants of the king, queen, and prince . . . the rest to be applied to public uses, and the first £30,000 to be appropriated to the navy. Among the commissioners appointed the chief were Captain A. Mildmay, a parliamentary officer, George Withers the poet, and John van Belcamp, a painter who had often been employed by the late king as a copyist. The commissioners performed their task with great thoroughness and regularity, and notwithstanding an ignorance of art and artists too often laid bare by the entries in the inventories and the sale-contracts, they appear to have formed a very fair idea of the then market-value of the works appraised by them, since although these in a great many cases fetched more than the price put upon them, they only in rare instances appear to have sold for less. The sales were effected, not by anything in the way of a public auction, but by private negotiations and sale-contracts made with persons acting sometimes on their own behalf, sometimes on behalf of more august personages who wished to remain in the background. The dispersion of the collections, although it began in 1649, was not finally completed until 1652 or 1653, the total price obtained for the late king's effects, including not only pictures, drawings, and objects of *vertu*, but furniture, household, and miscellaneous effects, being given as £118,080 10*s*. 2*d*. It must be borne in mind, however, that in strict accordance with the parliamentary resolution to that effect, Cromwell caused to be reserved, among other things, for the adornment of Hampton Court Palace, which had been assigned to him by the legislature as a residence, the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar*, by Mantegna ; the *Cartoons* of Raphael ; two pictures bearing the name of Titian ; the *Family Group*, then assigned to Pordenone, but now to Bernardino Licinio ; historical pictures associated with Henry VIII. and Hampton Court ; some portraits ; and the tapestries with the *Story*

of Eighty-eight[1] (being the destruction of the Spanish Armada). Apart from the commanding artistic worth and the celebrity of the *Triumph* and the *Cartoons*—the two most precious things by far which England has retained out of the wreck of Charles I.'s incomparable gallery—it is easy to see how the *Triumph* must have appealed to Cromwell, the victorious general and the man who aspired to play Dictator without incurring the obloquy which belongs of right to the part; while the *Cartoons*, of all the sacred works in the collection, were those which most took the beholder back to the evangelical simplicity of the Gospels, and were freest from any suggestion of Popish or other ritual.

The chief buyers from abroad were the Spanish ambassador, Don Alonzo de Cardenas, on behalf of, or more properly with a view to, Philip IV.; the art-loving Archduke Leopold William, Regent of the Netherlands, who had just absorbed the better part of the Duke of Buckingham's collection when it was sold at Antwerp; Queen Christina of Sweden, who bought chiefly jewels and medals; that enthusiastic collector, Cardinal Mazarin, who bought pictures, statues, tapestries, and stuffs; the banker, connoisseur, and dealer, Eberhard Jabach, of Cologne,[2] most of whose magnificent acquisitions were afterwards absorbed by Louis XIV.; and Van Reynst, a rich Dutch amateur, whose pictures were after his death purchased by the Dutch States, and by them presented to Charles II. at the Restoration. Sir Balthasar Gerbier bought, too, to sell again, as is shown by his parting with the *Charles V.*, by Titian, to the Spanish ambassador; and another buyer was the painter, Remigius Van Leemput, from whom, at the Restoration, the great equestrian *Charles I.* now at Windsor was recovered for the Crown by legal process. Other buyers were the Parliamentary colonels, Hutchinson, Harrison, and Webb, the Earl of Sussex, for whom at least twenty pictures were bought, and Lord Peterborough, who acquired four.[3] Buyers, too, were among many others of less note: Nicholas, Jerome, and Clement Laniere, Emanuel Decritz (or De Critz), and Belcamp. Whether the last-named is identical with the painter Van Belcamp, who

[1] *Fine Arts Quarterly Review*, 1863–64: "State Papers of the Interregnum."

[2] His portrait by Van Dyck, in his second Flemish manner, is in the picture gallery at Cologne.

[3] *Charles I. as a Picture Collector*, H. G. Hewlett.

acted as one of the commissioners, does not sufficiently appear, but the presumption is in favour of that supposition.

In all the transactions for the acquisition of Charles's pictures, Philip's name was kept carefully in the background; the fiction being maintained that the purchases had been made by Cardenas, on behalf of the first minister, Don Luis de Haro—the nephew and successor of the Conde-Duque Olivarez—who, thinking them worthy of the king, proceeded to lay them at his feet. Philip, remembering his royal guest some twenty-five years before, and his genuine enthusiasm over the Titians, must evidently have felt some compunction, some shame even, in the matter, seeing that when the ship containing the precious freight of masterpieces arrived at Corunna, the aged Cottington, who, with Sir Edward Hyde was in Madrid as Charles II.'s ambassador, suddenly received his passports. The real reason for this abrupt dismissal was, as they afterwards learnt, that they should be prevented from beholding the arrival in Madrid of the pictures formerly among Charles's choicest treasures. They were conveyed to the Spanish capital borne on the backs of no less than eighteen mules.[1] Among the pictures were Raphael's *Holy Family* (*La Perla*), Titian's *Twelve* (or, more exactly, eleven) *Emperors*, his *Charles V. with the White Dog*, his *Venus with the Organ Player*, his *Repose in Egypt*, *St Margaret*, and *Marquis del Vasto Haranguing his Troops*; Tintoretto's great *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples*, Andrea del Sarto's *Holy Family with the Angel*, and much prized works by Veronese, Albrecht Dürer, and other masters of high fame, which will be mentioned in due course. The *Egerton Manuscripts* (No. 1636, British Museum, quoted by Justi) contain in a contemporary diary, some interesting hints as to the *modus operandi* of Cardenas, which may serve as a sample of what took place generally. "The Spanish ambassador," the diary says, in the German translation furnished by Justi, "was the first who bought these things. He bought of the wood merchant, Harrison, such things to the value of £500; from Murray, the tailor, and others, two paintings by Titian, a half figure of *Venus* and the *Jeweller* (now in the Vienna Gallery), for £50. A *Cardinal seated and two old men*

[1] Carl Justi, *Diego Velazquez*, vol. ii.

behind him, by Tintoretto, for £800 (?). The State[1] gave him the *Eleven Cæsars* of Titian, with the twelfth, painted by Van Dyck."

Philip sent to the Escorial, which he was then re-arranging and adorning with paintings, as many of the new acquisitions as were suitable to the august melancholy and the conventual character of the place. Among other acquisitions, however, the *Twelve Cæsars* were hung in the palace at Madrid, where they remained, in the *Galeria de Mediodia*, until the end of the seventeenth century, since which all trace of them has disappeared. In the description of the Escorial pictures, drawn up by Padre de los Santos, not long after this great addition to their number, mention is made of the tragic fate of Charles Stuart, his love for the fine arts is praised, and it is deplored that upon his death the results achieved by the care and labour of many days should in a moment have been reduced to nothingness. Care is also taken to give in each case the names of the Spanish donors, so as to exclude the responsibility of the Spanish king.

CHAPTER III

THE standard authority in connection with the collections of Charles I. has been, as indeed it still remains, the catalogue drawn up by the Dutch artist Abraham Van der Doort (spelt by his English contemporaries Vanderdoort), Keeper of the King's pictures at Whitehall and St. James's, in 1639, but including only the pictures in those two palaces and some afterwards removed from thence to Hampton Court, and leaving untouched the paintings divided between the royal residences of Somerset House, Hampton Court (save as above), Greenwich, Oatlands, and Wimbleton. This was copied by Vertue from the Ashmolean Codex, and published after his death by Bathoe (1757) with a prefatory note by Horace Walpole, the same volume containing also the catalogues of the Duke of Buckingham's and James II.'s collections respectively, and some others. No doubt Vanderdoort's English is often quaint to the verge of grotesqueness, while his attributions are sometimes puzzling and in not a few instances quite unacceptable. Moreover, the late Sir

[1] Cardenas appears, however, to have paid £1,200 for the *Cæsars*.

George Scharf was at considerable pains to prove, from a collation of the published catalogue with the manuscript Codex, that Vertue, or whoever transcribed the Ashmolean Codex for him, many times miscopied the text, and moreover made, in a good many instances that could be cited, arbitrary corrections and interpolations; with the result of impairing the trustworthiness of his catalogue as a whole. Still with all its faults it is of inestimable value, and we have every reason to be grateful to the compiler for the relative accuracy of his measurements, as well as for the elaboration of many of his descriptions. We have only to compare these with the curt and crabbed entries in the inventories and sale contracts, many of which, and especially those relating to the minor pieces, utterly defy all identification; or with the too vague and general entries in the Duke of Buckingham's catalogue; in order to perceive how much we should have gained had the other cataloguers and appraisers had even his knowledge and industry. It is with poor Vanderdoort—to compare small things with great—as it is with Vasari. Every subsequent cataloguer, critic, and art-historian uses him as a foundation, and stepping first on to his back and then upwards on to the backs of others, proceeds to belittle him with every expression of supercilious disparagement, choosing to ignore that were the foundation not there, there would be nothing to support the superstructure. The other chief authority has been the Register of Sale Contracts, of which Vertue obtained a copy from the original, then recently discovered, and in his time belonging to Sir John Stanley; to this reference is made in Horace Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* compiled from Vertue's notes.

Abraham Vanderdoort was originally in the service of Prince Henry, as is shown in a quaint entry in his catalogue (p. 164). In this, after describing a life-size wax bust, or high-relief, fashioned by himself—"Imbost in coloured wax, so big as life, upon a black ebony pedestal, a woman's head laid in with silver and gold"—he goes on to tell how it was done for the Emperor Rudolph II., but retained together with the artist by the enthusiastic young prince, who declared that he would give him "so good entertainment as any Emperor should."

According to Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (quoting Sanderson's *Graphice*), Vanderdoort offered himself up in voluntary expiation for a supposed breach of duty; committing suicide because he could not at the

opportune moment find a miniature, *The Parable of the Lost Sheep*, by Gibson, which the King had with especial recommendations committed to his charge. This is only to be paralleled with the end of that great artist Vatel, who is said to have fallen, Roman fashion, on his sword because the fish did not arrive at Versailles in time for one of the Grand Monarque's banquets.

Mr. Henry G. Hewlett, in his interesting article, "Charles I. as a Picture Collector," already more than once cited, points, however, to the existence of an important piece of original evidence, supplying many deficiencies, which, as he says, has apparently escaped the attention of previous writers on the subject. "After the sale of the collection,"—to quote from him—"the inventories drawn up by the Parliamentary Commissioners appointed to appraise it were handed over to the Auditors of Land Revenue, presumably to enable them to check the accounts of the officers who had negotiated with the contracting purchasers. Upon the abolition of the Auditors' Department and the distribution of its functions in 1832 these documents, with the bulk of its records, were transferred to the newly established office of Land Revenue Records, now located at No. 6, Whitehall." It is clear, as Mr. Hewlett points out, that these inventories, "validated as they are by the signatures of the Commissioners, possess an authority at first hand which belongs to no other evidence relating to the King's pictures." They come down to the date of the King's death, whereas Vanderdoort catalogued the Whitehall and St. James's pictures in 1639, and they include all the royal palaces and residences. On the other hand the descriptions (as furnished in Mr. Hewlett's specimen extracts) are unduly laconic without being precise, the attributions, save in the case of famous pieces, are often entirely left to the imagination, and the measurements are also wanting.

The writer of the present notice has not been able to consult these inventories at first hand, but he has found at the South Kensington Museum another inventory which, less the crabbed English, appears to be in substantial agreement with them, so far as it goes. It is entered in the catalogue of the Art Library as follows: "Charles I. Inventories of the pictures, plate, jewels, statues, with their valuations, as possessed by King Charles I., and appraised during the Commonwealth, &c. (time of

sale, 1649–1653). A well-written official MS., folio (*c.* 1681). A transcript of the above, 61 pp., in modern writing (S. K. M.)." The manuscript gives the inventories with the appraisements, under such headings as the following : "Pictures in the Closet at Greenwich," "In the Gallery at Greenwich," "Pictures in the Private Lodgings and Gallery at Whitehall," "Inventory of Goods viewed at Nonsuch (*sic*) House, 22nd September, 1649." "Pictures viewed and appraised at Oatlands, September 13th, 1649," "Inventory of Goods at Wimbleton House, being the remainder left by the Queen, the rest being removed to Somerset House," and so forth.

A great number of paintings are herein mentioned beyond those described in Vanderdoort's catalogue, but often so vaguely that identification either becomes mere conjecture, or baffles even the most adventurous. Still there are, apart from masterpieces and historical pictures easily recognisable, many interesting items to be picked out here and there, such as necessarily arrest the attention of the student, and will, it is to be hoped, in time constitute links in a chain which can only be strengthened and completed bit by bit.

What for instance is to be made of this mysterious entry? "*The Three Travellers*, by Titian," referring to a picture which sold for £100. We are here set thinking of Giorgione's famous *Three Sages* or *Three Mathematicians* of the Vienna Gallery, a canvas which, according to the ingenious and convincing interpretation of Herr Franz Wickhoff, should now be called *Evander showing to Æneas the site of Rome*. It was in the collection of Archduke Leopold William, but its pedigree between that period and 1525, when it belonged to Senator Taddeo Contarini at Venice, would not appear to be known. What again is the *Mary and our Saviour*, by Titian, upon which was put the relatively high price of £160? *A Man with a Sword*, attributed to Giorgione, and modestly priced at £30, may well be the Giorgionesque *David* of Vienna, which presents the same type of youthful beauty as the much discussed *Shepherd with the Pipe* at Hampton Court. *Solomon Sacrificing to the Idols*, appraised at £150, is attributed to a mysterious "Piedmore," for whom we must doubtless read "Pordenone." *A Man's Head*, by Rembrandt, is not the *Portrait of the Painter, by Himself*, which appears as such in Vanderdoort's

catalogue, and is in this inventory called *A Man with a Chain about his Neck*; £2 is all that the connoisseurs think the former work of the Leyden master will fetch. What again is the *Judith and Holofernes*, by Peregino (!), valued at £15? The quaint entry, *Guaston the Fox*, no doubt refers to the *Gaston de Foix* by Savoldo, which is No. 138 in the Hampton Court Gallery. About the little *Virgin with Christ*, by Raphael, priced as high as £800 (not in Vanderdoort's catalogue) something will be brought forward in the way of conjecture later on. Then we have a *Judgment of Paris*, given to Raphael, and put down at £100; and a *St. Jerome*, by Dosso Dossi.[1] *A Chamber of Rarities*, by Francken, would be such a picture as the *Interior of a Picture Gallery*, No. 507 in the Brussels Gallery (formerly attributed to Sebastian Vranckx), or the *Studio of Apelles*, No. 227 in the Hague Gallery (formerly attributed to the same master).

All these are entries which agreeably excite our curiosity without giving any clue sufficiently precise to lead to its satisfaction. The *Emperor Charles*, by Titian, estimated here at £30, is not, we imagine, the same full-length bought by Sir Balthasar Gerbier, and sold to the Spanish ambassador for £150, but another less important picture owned by Charles. In the inventory of Nonesuch House occurs the entry, *A Philosopher with a Naked Woman*, which is presumably a Netherlandish or German *Temptation of St. Anthony*—but which, and by whom? Among the "Pictures viewed and appraised at Oatlands, September 13th, 1649," is an entry, *Three Naked Nymphs*, by Rubens, appraised at £50, which may be either a *Judgment of Paris* or a *Group of the Three Graces*, both of which subjects he particularly affected; but again, the description is too vague to lead by itself to an identification. *A Venus Coming out of the Sea* may well be a *Venus Anadyomene*,[2] of the type represented by the well-known Titian of Bridgewater House. At Wimbleton House there is noted a *Woman taken in Adultery*, by Rubens, which one would conjecture to be the picture of that subject now or lately in the Miles collection at Bristol, since Rubens appears to have treated the subject only

[1] A *St. Jerome* by, or attributed to, Dosso Dossi, is No. 168 in the Louvre, but was not acquired until 1852.

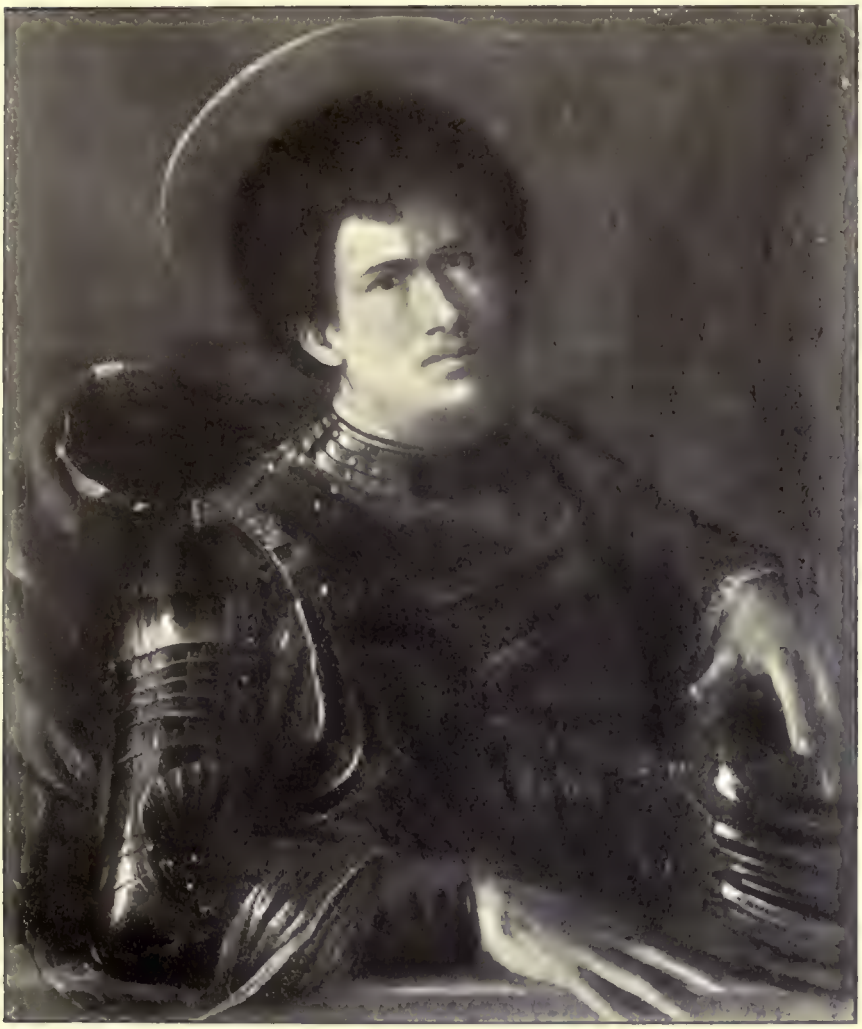
[2] The *Venus Anadyomene* of Bridgewater House is first heard of in the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden, who was, it has been shown, a buyer at the great sale.

once. But then the pedigree of this last canvas does not show that it was ever in the King's collection. Among the pictures enumerated at Somerset House, over and above the famous pieces which will be dealt with in another section of this notice, one is astonished to come across the following: "*A Dead Christ*, by Bramantie," put down at £30. The name of the great Urbinate architect as a painter would be so little likely to occur to the seventeenth-century cataloguer that one wonders whether the picture was not in some way signed or identified. At Chiaravalle, near Milan, is a *Christ Bound to the Column*, painted by Bramante, and erroneously attributed to Bramantino. In the same palace we find *The Woman taken in Adultery*, Monsignor (Bonsignori?), estimated at £25. *Christ Bearing the Cross*, by Giorgione, put down at £45, is perhaps one of the numerous versions of the original—a genuine Giorgione—which is in the Casa Loschi at Vicenza. Few pictures have been more often repeated and adapted. One such version was No. 76 in the Venetian Exhibition at the New Gallery.

Among the "Goods viewed and appraised at Hampton Court, 5th October, 1649," is *The Duke of Burgundy*, by Giorgione, no doubt the fine *St. William* (?) by Dosso Dossi, now again in that palace, nominally as a Giorgione. Vertue catalogues the picture, or one similar to it, as *Charles Audax, Duke of Burgundy*, by Michael Coxcie. Here a doubt suggests itself as to whether King Charles's collection did not include two examples of this curiously popular painting, an Italian original and a Flemish copy. In the Vienna Gallery there exist two Flemish copies of the *St. William* with varied backgrounds, of which the better is there attributed to Jan van Hemessen. In the Staedel Institut at Frankfort there is a much finer repetition, which professes to be the original, and many other versions of the painting by Dosso besides these might be pointed out. The entry "*A Woman Sitting*, by A. Mesina," at once suggests the name of Antonello da Messina. The *Venus and Cupid*, by Bronzino, is probably another version of the repulsive piece, supposed to have been painted by Pontormo from a design by Michelangelo, which is now at Hampton Court, but was not in the King's collection. Bronzino is known to have painted this same subject more than once. "*Diana and Actæon* after Titian, by Rubens," was no doubt one of the numerous copies

made by the Flemish after the Venetian master during his sojourn at Madrid.

Before we proceed to consider in somewhat greater detail the paintings



St. William armed (?). By Dosso Dossi. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

comprised in the collection of Charles I., it may be well to say a word or two as to the collection of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, which in point of time preceded that of his royal friend and sovereign, and

came to a splendid maturity when the collection of the latter was still in an embryonic stage.

Buckingham, the *nouveau riche*, had doubtless been fired by the example of that veritable *grand seigneur*, the Earl of Arundel; but having neither the patience nor the wide-ranging taste of the father of English connoisseurs, he collected rapidly and recklessly, though on the whole with striking results.

One of his two great *coups* was the acquisition in 1627 for the large price of £10,000, of the paintings and works of art brought together by Rubens; the other, which preceded it in point of time, the purchase by Sir Henry Wotton on the Duke's behalf of the famous if somewhat overrated *Ecce Homo* of Titian, now one of the most coveted possessions of the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. To obtain this *Ecce Homo* Lord Arundel tempted the Duke of Buckingham in vain with the sum of £7,000—a price such as, since the days of those Greek patrons of art, who were mainly states, cities, and tyrants, had probably never been offered for a single painting. His successor, the second Duke of Buckingham, when, in the most troublous time of the Civil War, that is in 1648, he sent to Antwerp and there sold such part of his father's collection as had not previously been absorbed by the King, the Earl of Northumberland and other English buyers, was compelled to accept for the great Titian about as many hundreds as his father had refused thousands.

The catalogue of the Buckingham pictures (published by Bathoe, 1757) professes to include nineteen Titians, seventeen Tintorettos, two Giulio Romanos, two Giorgiones, thirteen by Paolo Veronese, eight by Palma, three Guidos, thirteen Rubenses, three Leonardos (!), two Correggios, and three Raphaels.

Duart of Antwerp bought several of the pictures, but the greater part of them passed, as has already been noted, into the possession of Archduke Leopold William, and upon the termination of his Regency of the Netherlands in 1656, were removed by him from Brussels to Vienna; a certain number, however, remaining at the Imperial Castle of Prague, or being removed thither, and ultimately finding their way into the Dresden Gallery. By the will of the Imperial Mæcenas, made in 1661, his magnificent collection, still further augmented after his return

to Austria, became the property of his nephew, Emperor Leopold I., and

Second Duke of Buckingham and his Brother. By Van Dyck. Windsor Castle. From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

with the other pictorial treasures of the Imperial House has now gone to enrich the Gallery of Vienna. It was in 1648 and 1649 that the

inspector of the Dresden Gallery, Pietro Guarienti, effected the purchase of sixty-nine pictures of the Imperial Gallery at Prague—not as a rule works deemed to be of the first rank—for 50,000 thalers; among them being included several which can be identified as having formed part of the Duke of Buckingham's collection.

The finest of these is the famous *Boar Hunt* by Rubens, No. 962 in the Dresden Gallery, which the duke had obtained from the master himself in 1627, with the rest of his collection; it is an original, of superb energy and a completeness bordering even upon hardness. Of it there exist some repetitions carried out on a slightly larger scale,—the best of which is the one from the Adrian Hope collection, recently acquired by the Glasgow Corporation Gallery. The *Man Tortured*, put down in the catalogue of the Buckingham pictures to no other than Michelangelo himself, is easily recognisable as the *Burning of a Heretic*, No. 74, in the Dresden Gallery (from Prague in 1749). The minatory sentence of the Inquisition, *Fumo pereat qui fumum vendidit*, at the base of the picture, proves the correctness of the description given by the catalogue. The naked figure of the heretic is taken bodily from Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*, but curiously enough from the side of the Blessed. In the collection of the Earl of Radnor at Longford is a nearly identical figure derived from the same episode in the fresco, this time doing duty as *St. Sebastian* bound to a tree, the background being a landscape with classical ruins. The authorship is in the English collection credited to Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo conjointly, but the hand is in both cases that of a Netherlander, striving to imitate the terrible Florentine, and probably that of Martin van Heemskerk. The Duke's *tondo*, given to Raphael, showing *The Virgin and Child in a Chair, and St. John*, is possibly the copy of the *Madonna della Sedia*, which is No. 97 in the Dresden Gallery and is first mentioned in the inventory of 1754. His *Virgin Mary, Christ, and St. John in a landscape* (4 feet by 2 feet 10 inches) is doubtless the copy of the *Belle Jardinière*, which is No. 96 there (1749, from Prague). The Duke's so-called Leonardo da Vinci, *Herodias with the Head of John the Baptist in a charger* (3 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 6 inches), another picture which came in the same year from Prague, would appear to be identical with the work of that subject long given at Dresden to Leonardo or his

school, but now, on the authority of Frizzoni, confirmed by Morelli, definitively ascribed to its true author, that curious Bartolommeo Veneto, who was fascinated now by Venetian, now by Milanese art.

The *Venus gazing at herself in a Mirror*, No. 178 in the Dresden catalogue, and a Prague picture—being a school copy with variations of an original by Titian, the best extant version of which is at St. Petersburg—is doubtless the No. 6 of the Buckingham catalogue. There may be traced back in like manner to Buckingham's collection several pieces of the curious series at Dresden by Domenico Feti, which so characteristically displays his realistic, yet on occasion, genuinely imaginative art.

The more celebrated pictures bought by the Archduke out of the collection have found their way, as has been already pointed out, into the Vienna Gallery. Here we have, besides Titian's great *Ecce Homo* of 1543, the *Entombment*, No. 307, bearing the signature "Titianus," the figure of the Magdalen in which has the same voluptuous type as the representation of the saint by the master of Cadore, different versions of which are at the Hermitage, the Pitti Palace, and the Naples Gallery.

One of the so-called Giorgiones of the Buckingham catalogue is the picture—perhaps by a Veronese imitating his style—called *A Warrior*, (No. 659, Vienna Gallery). The Duke's, too, was the well-known *Pietà*, of Andrea del Sarto (No. 45 *ibid.*)—a magnificent design, the effect of which is somewhat impaired by the ugly yellow-green draperies upon which lies the body of the Christ. An old replica or copy of this piece, formerly in the Dudley collection, is now in that of Mr. Joseph Ruston at Lincoln. Among the Rubenses of the Imperial Gallery having a like origin are: the *Cimon and Iphigenia*, No. 1197, and the magnificent *Worship of Venus*, No. 1162. This last presents a scene of unbridled Dionysiac frenzy rather than one symbolising the gentler worship of the love-goddess; and presents it with an intensity of physical passion only paralleled by that which redeems the bestial grossness of the great *Kermesse* at the Louvre. Max Rooses declares an earlier picture of the Bacchanalian type, the so-called *Worship of the many-breasted Goddess*, by Rubens and Breughel, which, from the Graham-Gilbert collection, passed into that of the Corporation Gallery of Glasgow, to have been in the Duke of Buckingham's collection, and to be the work therein catalogued as *The Three Graces with Fruit*. This statement is borne out by Van

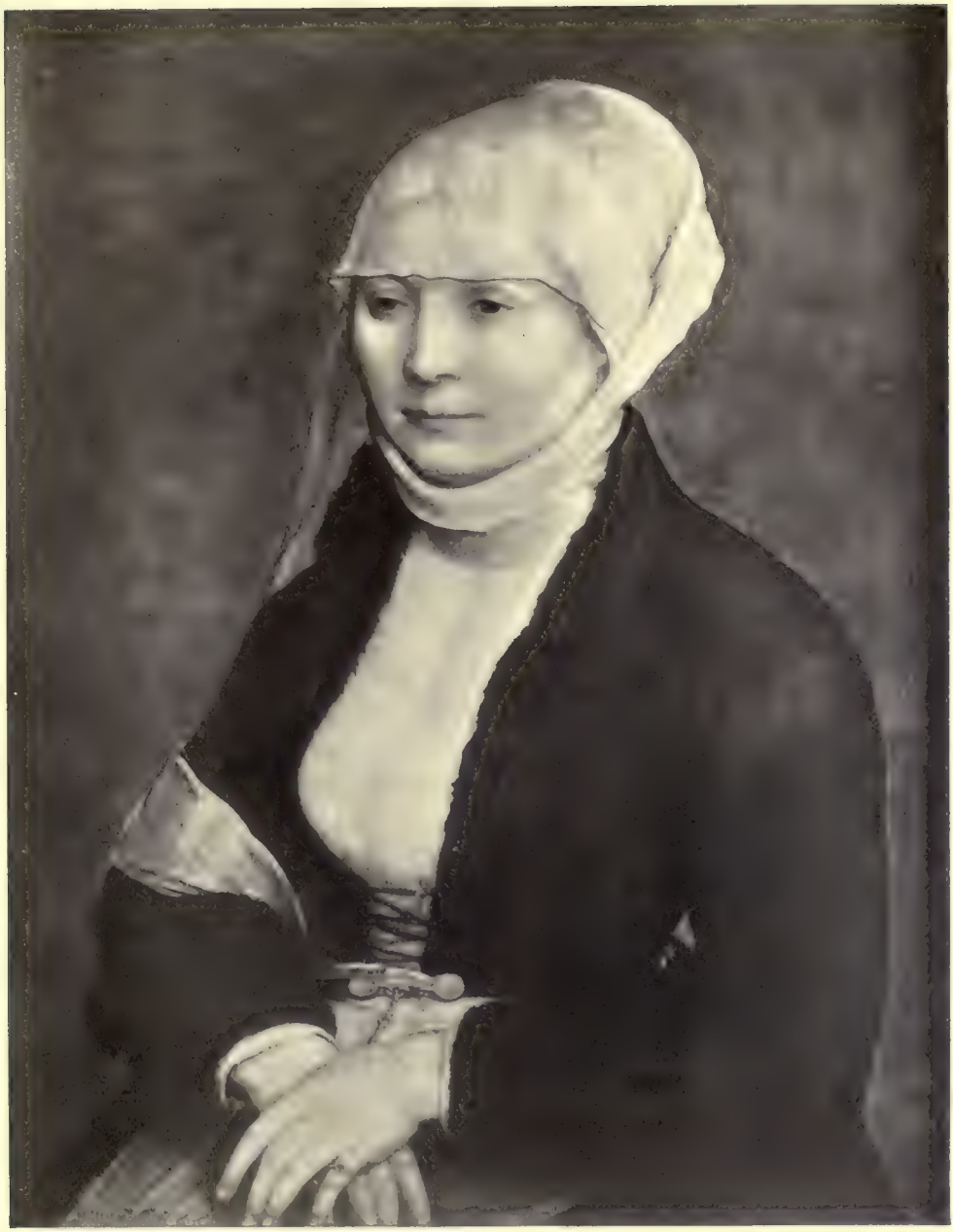
Dalen's print, taken, not direct from the picture, but from a drawing by Jan Bockelts, done, as the inscription records, while it belonged to the favourite.

Among those of the Buckingham pictures which have remained in England, or have found their way back there, may be mentioned the *Christ driving the Money-changers out of the Temple*, in the Venetian manner of El Greco. This important canvas is now in the collection of the Earl of Yarborough, in which it is catalogued as a Paolo Veronese. The Buckingham catalogue ascribes it correctly to the Græco-Venetian painter who afterwards became the founder of the modern Spanish school. Its subject is, indeed, one which was with him a peculiar favourite, as is shown not only by the early work exhibited by Sir Francis Cook at the Venetian Exhibition, but by that much later and more mannered version in his Toledan style, which was quite lately presented by Sir Charles Robinson to the National Gallery.

Some reference must here be made to a small yet important group of works, as to which we are left in doubt whether, although they undoubtedly belonged to the English Crown and can mostly be traced in the collection of James II., they actually formed part of that of Charles I. It is the list of paintings which, after the death of William III., Queen Anne claimed back—as the result shows without success—from the Dutch States, as having formed part of the collections belonging to the Royal House of England.[1] These may be assumed to have been transferred by King William to Holland, or taken with him to the Hague in the course of his visits. One of these pictures is the splendid "*Robert Cheseman with a Hawk*," painted by Holbein in 1533, and No. 8 on the list of the works of art for the return of which the Queen put in a claim.[2] Rich as England still is in Holbeins, she is the poorer by the loss of such a masterpiece as this. Another undoubted Holbein belonging to this special group is No. 277 of the new catalogue of the Royal Gallery at the Hague, also a *Portrait of a Man with a Hawk*. This was No. 21 in the Queen's list, and No. 505 in James II.'s catalogue. Another Hague picture (No. 278 of the new catalogue) is the charming *Portrait of a Young Woman*, attributed to Holbein, and by some critics erroneously

[1] *Musée Royal de la Haye: Catalogue Raisonné des Tableaux et des Sculptures.* 1895.

[2] No. 507 in James II.'s catalogue.



Portrait of a young Woman. Ascribed to Holbein. The Hague.
From a photograph by Mr. F. Hanfstaengl.

called a copy after the Bâle painter. It is really a fine original work by a Netherlandish artist contemporary with and strongly influenced by him. This does not appear to have been in Queen Anne's list ; but it was, as the C.R. surmounted by the royal crown, branded on the back of the frame, goes to confirm, in Charles I.'s collection, where it was strangely enough catalogued as a Leonardo da Vinci. And yet not so strangely after all, when we remember that the world-famous *Sieur de Morette* of the Dresden Gallery actually came from Modena as a portrait of Ludovico Sforza by Leonardo, and maintained itself as such until some fifty years ago. A strong Leonardesque vein is to be noted in some of Holbein's paintings, and especially in the *Lais Corinthiaca* and the *Venus* of the Bâle Museum.

The exact contrary has been the fate of two portraits of surpassing interest, those of the Florentine musician, Francesco Giamberti, and his son, the celebrated architect and sculptor, Giuliano da San Gallo, both by Piero di Cosimo. These were Nos. 17 and 18 respectively in Queen Anne's list, as *An Old Man's Head in a Red Cap, ye Manner of Albert Dürer*, and *An Old Man's Head in a Black Cap, by the same hand.* Afterwards they were attributed to Lucas van Leyden or Dürer, then to an anonymous German master, then again to an anonymous Italian.[1] It was only in 1891 that the distinguished Milanese critic, Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, identified them as the portraits by Piero di Cosimo of Giamberti and Giuliano da San Gallo, which are mentioned by Vasari in the following passage : "*Francesco di San Gallo ancora ha di mano di Pietro due ritratti, l'uno di Giuliano suo padre, l'altro di Francesco Giamberti suo avolo, che paion vivi.*"

The four works just now mentioned—excluding the portrait branded with Charles's mark—were clearly in James II.'s collection, but although we may legitimately surmise that they were included in that of Charles I. it is not at present possible to furnish direct evidence from any inventory or catalogue in support of the conjecture. We know, however, that the Commonwealth was not a purchaser, and acquired nothing beyond the works of art reserved at the dispersion of King Charles's pictures. Charles II. was a buyer of chiefly Dutch paintings of the seventeenth century, and a

[1] *Musée Royal de la Haye, Catalogue Raisonné ; Arte Italiana del Renascimento*, by Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni. Milan, 1891.

patron of the portrait-painters. James II.'s collection contains apparently, according to the vaguely-worded catalogue of its contents, many items which we cannot at present identify as having belonged to his father, and as to the *provenance* of which we must apparently be content to remain in uncertainty. At the same time we have no record showing James a buyer of pictures, apart from the official commissions which, as Lord High Admiral, he gave to the two Van de Veldes to commemorate naval victories. The presumption that pictures by Holbein, and others then deemed to be "in the manner of Dürer," could have found their way into the royal collections after the dispersion and partial reconstitution of that of Charles I., cannot in any case be regarded as a very strong one. Yet another picture as to which it may safely be assumed, though the learned authors of the Hague catalogue are silent on the point, that it was one of those taken over by William III. and vainly claimed back by his successor, is the *Portrait of Maria Henrietta of England (Princess of Orange) in a Fancy Dress*, No. 479, in the new Hague Catalogue—formerly given to Hanneman, but now restored to Johannes Mytens. Her head-dress, ornamented with pearls mixed with feathers, red and white, and her mantle composed of the plumage of South American birds, are, according to Sir Augustus Franks, borrowed from the costume of the natives inhabiting the banks of the Amazon. In King James II.'s catalogue the picture appears as "No. 94. *The Princess of Orange in a feathered mantle, half length, by Hanneman.*" [1]

CHAPTER IV

It is time after this too long digression, leading us not exactly away from our subject but into a sidepath skirting the straight road, to return to King Charles's collection, and to cast into the groups to which they naturally belong some of its most interesting pieces, so far as these can at present be identified.

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

The sole work representing this early time is the famous Diptych now in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House, showing

[1] Identified by the present Director of the National Portrait Gallery, Mr. Lionel Cust.

Richard II. at the feet of the Virgin. It is described in Vanderdoort's catalogue as "An altarpiece with two shutters, all-over gilded doors, wherein is painted on the one side Richard II. sidelong kneeling in his golden robes to Our Lady, with St. John Baptist and King Edward the Confessor and St. Edmund. On the other side Our Lady and Christ, with some eleven angels, all in blue." The Diptych was engraved by Hollar in 1639 and dedicated to King Charles. Judging from the extremely youthful appearance of the slender royal figure which kneels to the Virgin and Child, and from the fact that the arms of Anne of Bohemia do not appear with those of Richard, the painting must have been executed before 1382, when the espousals of that princess and the English king took place. The most various opinions have been expressed by competent authorities as to the school to which it belongs. Passavant unreservedly accepted the work as of Italian origin; Waagen oscillated between the Italian and Bohemian schools; Sir A. W. Franks and Sir J. C. Robinson declared themselves for the school of Bohemia having its centre at Prague; other connoisseurs, when the Diptych was at Manchester in 1857, pronounced for a purely English origin. The work remains, as it has always been, one of the puzzles of criticism.

We have certainly no warrant for the assumption that any contemporary English painter possessed the pictorial accomplishment here shown. The conjectural ascription of the Diptych to an artist of the hybrid school of Prague is based rather on the fact that Richard's second consort was Anne of Bohemia than on stylistic grounds. It cannot be said that the specimens of this local school to be found at Prague and in the Vienna Gallery show any real analogy of style with the Wilton House picture beyond the general resemblance which gives a certain air of interconnection to all fourteenth-century paintings north of the Alps. The writer inclines to the opinion that the painter is a southern Frenchman strongly influenced by contemporary Italian art, but preserving, nevertheless, a distinct individuality; the work would no doubt have been executed in England. It must be borne in mind that before Richard's marriage with Anne his relations were chiefly with the French and Burgundian courts.[1]

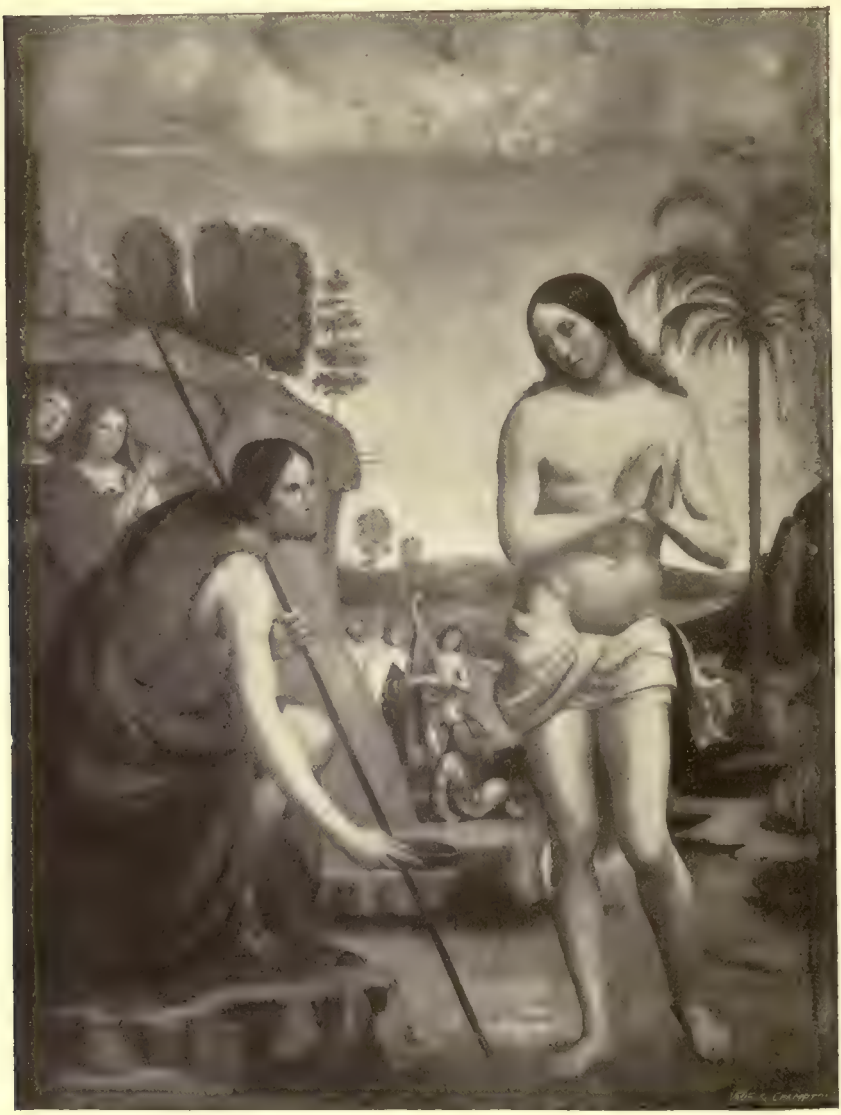
[1] Description of the Diptych at Wilton House, containing a portrait of Richard II., by George Scharf, F.S.A.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Here, again, the record is a meagre one as regards Italian art, with the one great and glorious exception of the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar*, by Mantegna. The time was not favourable to the *Quattrocento* masters, and much less so to those of Italy than to the homelier and more easily comprehensible painters of the Netherlands, Germany, and France. The great collectors of the seventeenth century were for the most part, as has already been seen, to be found in Spain, in England, in France, in Sweden, in Austria. Marie de Médicis was not only Italian, but an Italian of whom, seeing what was her descent, it might be said that *noblesse oblige*. Yet, judging by results, we must assume that her favourite masters were Frans Pourbus the Younger and Rubens. Cardinal Mazarin preserved his taste for the great things of Italian art undefiled, but even he gives no sign of having appreciated anything much antecedent in point of style to the maturity of Italian painting.

The Italian painters of the *Quattrocento* were not, indeed, entirely to regain their rightful position in art, whether at home or abroad, until the latter half of the present century. Such examples as are to be identified in Charles's collection of fifteenth-century art, whether Italian or Northern, belong to the extreme verge of the century, or overlap into the next. Florentine art of this earlier time was unrepresented, save through the chance that those interesting portraits, by Piero di Cosimo, of Francesco Giamberti and Giuliano di San Gallo, referred to in the preceding remarks, found their way into it—if, indeed, we are right in assuming that they did—as panels "in the manner of Dürer." The earlier Ferrarese-Bolognese school was represented by Francesco Francia's *Baptism of Christ* at Hampton Court, which it has been rather the custom lately to put down as a repetition or imitation from the hand of a pupil, or pupils, of the larger *Baptism* by the master, dated 1509, and now in the Dresden Gallery. To the writer the latter, in its greater simplicity and expressiveness of design, in its added suppleness, passion, and movement, appears to be the later work of the two, and the Hampton Court picture in its essentials, and notwithstanding certain undoubtedly disquieting features in the landscape background, to be also the work of

Francesco Francia. A pupil imitating or adapting the Dresden picture would hardly have produced a version earlier and more Quattrocentist



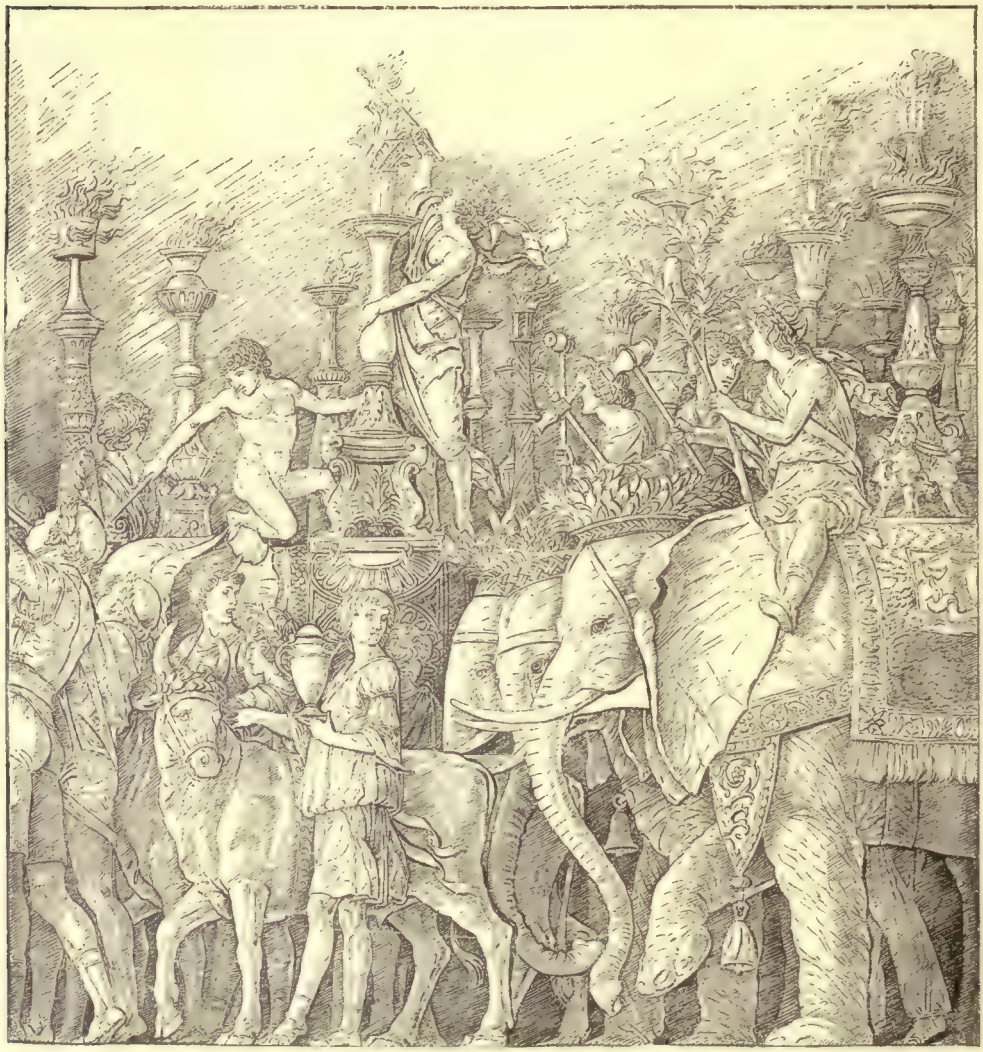
The Baptism of Christ. By Francesco Francia. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

in style than the original; and as such the Hampton Court *Baptism* may surely be described.

A reminiscence of fifteenth-century Venice is afforded by two works attributed to Giovanni Bellini. One is the *Venetian Senator, by Joan Tibulini*, which first appears in Prince Charles's short Inventory already cited. It is to be identified with the so-called *Portrait of Giovanni Bellini by Himself*, No. 117 in the gallery at Hampton Court—an interesting though much damaged panel of Giambellino's school, but not from his own hand, to which we cannot now with confidence ascribe a name.[1] The other example, which remains at present unidentified, is entered in Vanderdoort's Catalogue as "A young woman's picture in her yellow hair with her left breast naked . . . . by John Beleene" (misspelt in Bathoe's edition "Bellievre," but correctly as John Bellini in the index). This reads very much like one of Bartolommeo Veneto's half-idealised pictures of courtesans, such as we find in the Staedel Institut at Frankfort and the Melzi collection at Milan.

We come now to the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar*, done in nine great temperas by Andrea Mantegna, the acquisition of which from the Gonzagas was the crowning achievement of Charles's agent, Daniel Nys. As they are now seen in the gallery at Hampton Court built for their reception by William III.—more than once restored—the last time most fatally of all, by Laguerre, under William's orders—these marvellous canvases are rather a memory than a work still extant; the question not being which parts of the composition are due to the restorer, but which, if any, reveal to the careful observer any traces of Mantegna's own handling. Begun in 1487, and terminated in 1491, they belong to Mantegna's late time, of which they have, or rather had, all the characteristics—austere majesty, elaborately-developed design, and clear, bright, sharply-contrasting colour. The great Paduan has here realised the pitiless, crushing domination, the self-conscious dignity, and the profuse splendour of ancient Rome, with a divining power so singular, with a completeness so absolute that his work surpasses in significance and incisive force all that Rome herself has produced to record how she held the world prostrate under her foot. It is to this representative character, as much as to their supremely imposing aspect as monumental decorations, that they owe that unique place in the succeeding centuries which they preserved when all other distinctively *Quattrocento* art was being cold-shouldered or forgotten.

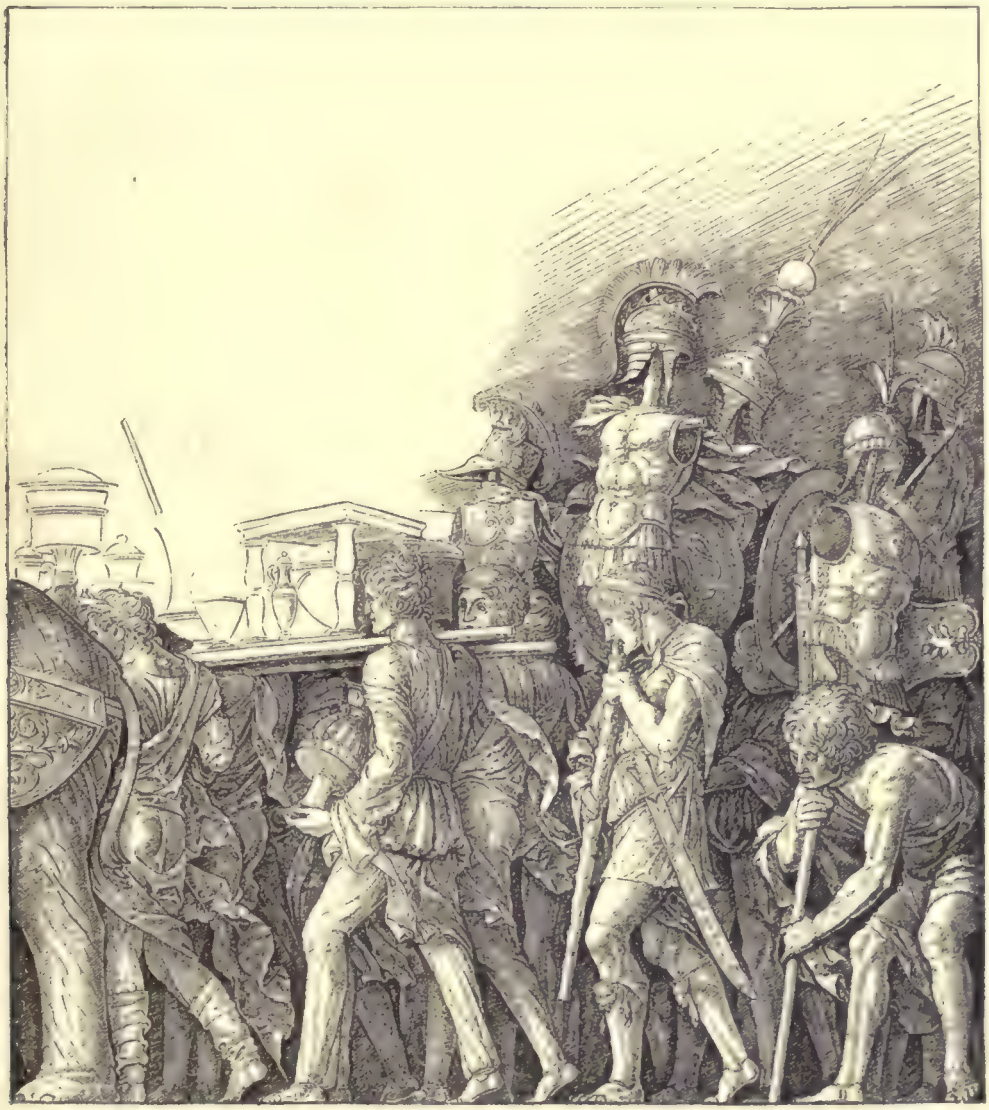
It is a mistake, or at least an exaggeration, to say that *The Triumph* was originally painted as part of the decoration of a temporary theatre at the court of Mantua. The nine pictures, out of which it is made



The Triumph of Julius Cæsar (fifth picture). By Andrea Mantegna. Hampton Court. From the engraving ascribed to Mantegna.

up, are believed to have constituted originally the main decoration of a great hall or gallery in the palace of the Gonzagas at Mantua, making

a continuous frieze along one of its sides, as they do actually in their gallery at Hampton Court. That some of them did on occasion serve to



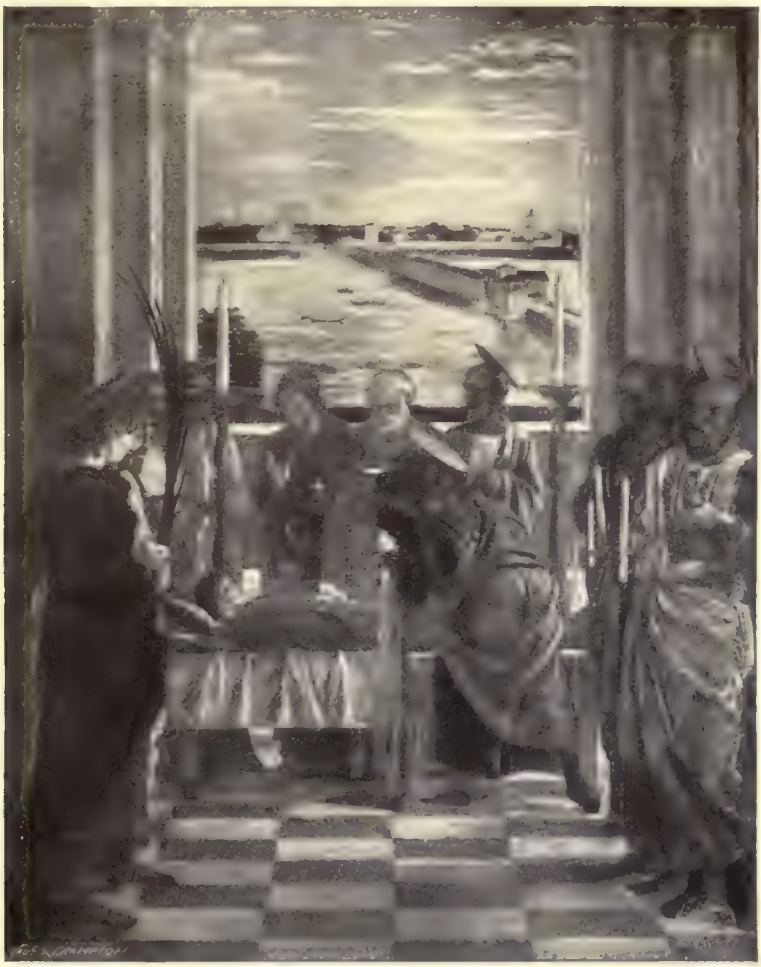
The Triumph of Julius Cæsar (sixth picture). By Andrea Mantegna. Hampton Court. From the engraving ascribed to Mantegna.

adorn the theatre appears, however, from the description given by Sigismondo Cantelmo, the envoy of Duke Ercole of Ferrara, to his master,

of the festivities which took place at Mantua on February 24th, 1501; when, among other sumptuous decorations making up the adornment of the temporary theatre, the stage of which represented a classical dwelling-house, six pictures of *The Triumph of Julius Cæsar* by Mantegna are specially mentioned. Among the drawings by the master having reference to the great work, are those in the Ambrosiana at Milan, and a superb pen-and-ink design of undoubted originality in the collection of the Duc d'Aumale at Chantilly. Engravings in the style of Mantegna exist of the fifth, sixth and seventh sections of *The Triumph*, and these, showing, as they do, various hands, are supposed to have been executed in the workshop of Zoan Andrea after designs which, from internal evidence, must have preceded the definitive ones of the pictures themselves. Many differences are to be noted between the prints and the temperas with which they are connected, the variation being especially notable in the case of that designated by Bartsch as *The Senate of Rome accompanying the Triumph*, which differs vitally, both as to conception and execution, from the picture. This particular engraving is fine and significant enough to be from the hand of Mantegna himself, but the shading is from left to right, instead of from right to left, as generally with him. Well known are the chiaroscuro wood-engravings of the nine subjects done by Andrea Andreani in 1598, when they were still at Mantua, with a frontispiece taken from the bronze bust of Mantegna by, or attributed to, Sperandio, which is still in the church of S. Andrea. Of Rubens's free copy of the fifth picture, done most probably about 1606 at Mantua, with its characteristic infusion of the Flemish *joie de vivre* into the Paduan austerity, it is hardly necessary to speak, since it is one of the best known pictures in the National Gallery (No. 278).

Another picture ascribed to Mantegna, which was in King Charles's collection, is the *Death of the Virgin*, now No. 295 in the Prado Gallery of Madrid. Vanderdoort's catalogue enables us to identify the piece from the curious background, which he describes as "the landscape where the town of Mantua is painted in the water-lake, when a bridge is over the said water towards the town." Though unmistakably Mantegnesque, it is not good enough for the master himself. Besides other points which it is impossible to discuss here, this very quaint background of shallow

inland waters is in a style entirely at variance with his own rigid yet majestic prospects, which depict nature, not from the realistic, but the conventional and symbolic standpoint. Other pictures mentioned by

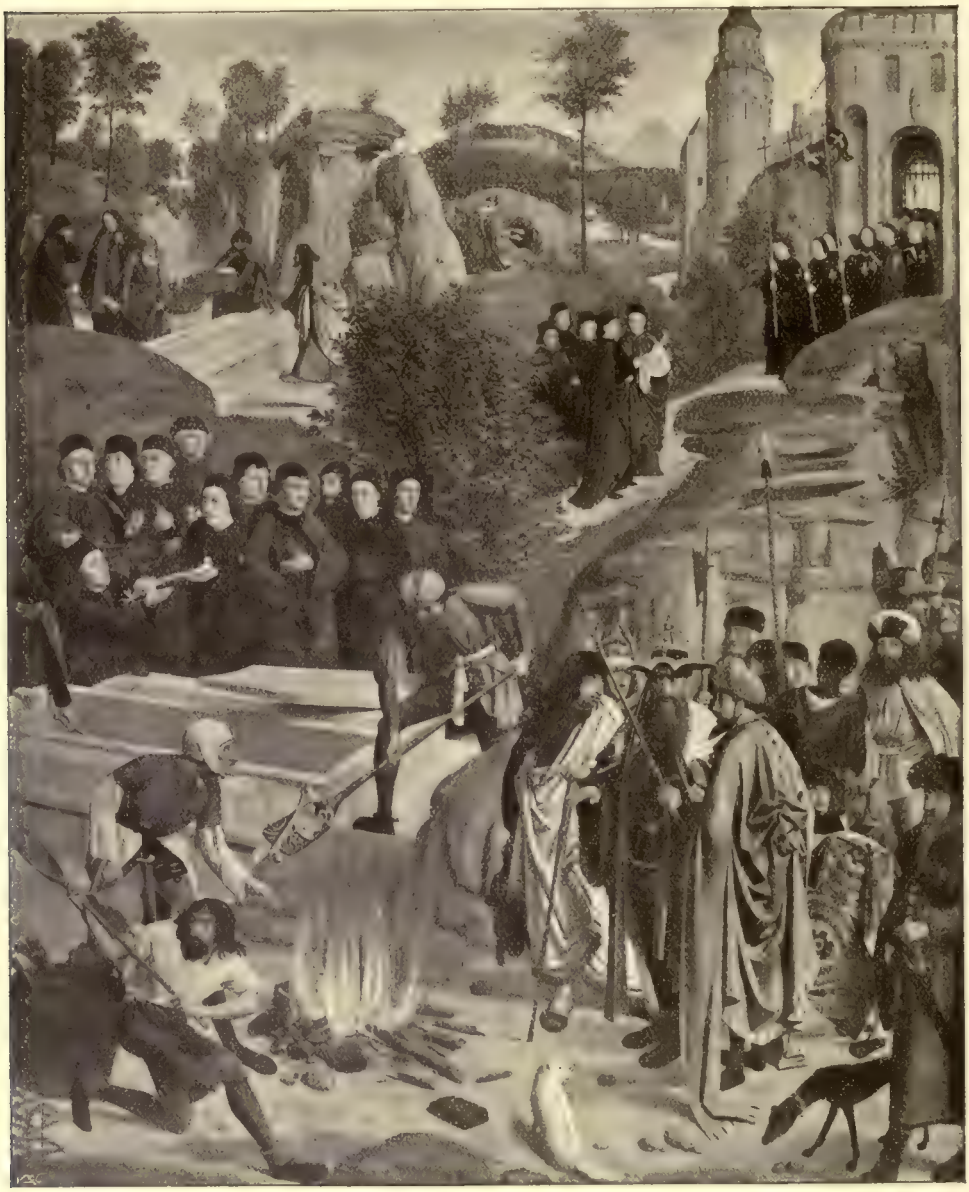


The Death of the Virgin. Ascribed to Andrea Mantegna. Prado, Madrid. From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.

Vanderdoort as from the hand of Andrea Mantegna, are a small *Holy Family with six saints in a landscape*, and a work of somewhat less dimensions, *The Woman taken in Adultery*—both of them Mantua pieces.

A *Carrying the Cross*, Montagna (Mantegna?), in the South Ken-

sington Museum Inventory, is doubtless the *Christ carrying y^e^ Cross by*



Julian the Apostate burning the bones of St. John the Baptist. By Geertgen van St. Jans. Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

Andrea Mantegner, given by Mr. Hewlett, with the commentary that such a picture, supposed to have been in Charles I.'s collection, is at

Christ Church, Oxford.[1] Mention is also made in the South Kensington Inventory of a *Nativity*.[2]

Examples of the Netherlandish and German schools were, as will be seen, numerous in the Royal collection, but most of these belong to, or may be most conveniently classed in, the sixteenth century. Fifteenth-century examples of Northern schools there no doubt were, which had belonged to Henry VII., but these are not always easy to identify. The important *Henry VII. and Family with St. George slaying the Dragon*[3] (painted for the Royal chapel at Shene, and belonging most probably to the first years of the sixteenth century), had somehow by this time passed, with other things of price, from the Royal collection into that of the Earl of Arundel. Undoubtedly among Charles's treasures were however two curious panels by Geertgen van St. Jans (or van Haarlem) painted for the Church of St. Johann at Haarlem, and now with the rest of Archduke Leopold William's collection at Vienna. These are *St. Julian the Apostate causing the Bones of St. John the Baptist to be Burned*, and the *Descent from the Cross* (Nos. 665 and 666 in the Imperial Gallery of Vienna). By the same hand are the *Sacred Allegory* in the Amsterdam Museum, and the *Adoration of the Kings*, in the Rudolphinum of Prague.

It may be convenient to mention here that Charles possessed a *Fantastic Representation of Hell*, by or ascribed to that riotous humourist, Hieronymus Bosch. This is No. 753 in Mr. Law's *Historical Catalogue*, and bears on the back the inscription "1636. This picture, painted by Jeronimus Boss, was given to the king by the Earle of Arundel, Earle Marshalle, and Embassador to the Emperor abroad." Two other pictures in Charles's collection, ascribed to Bosch, were sold by the Commonwealth.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

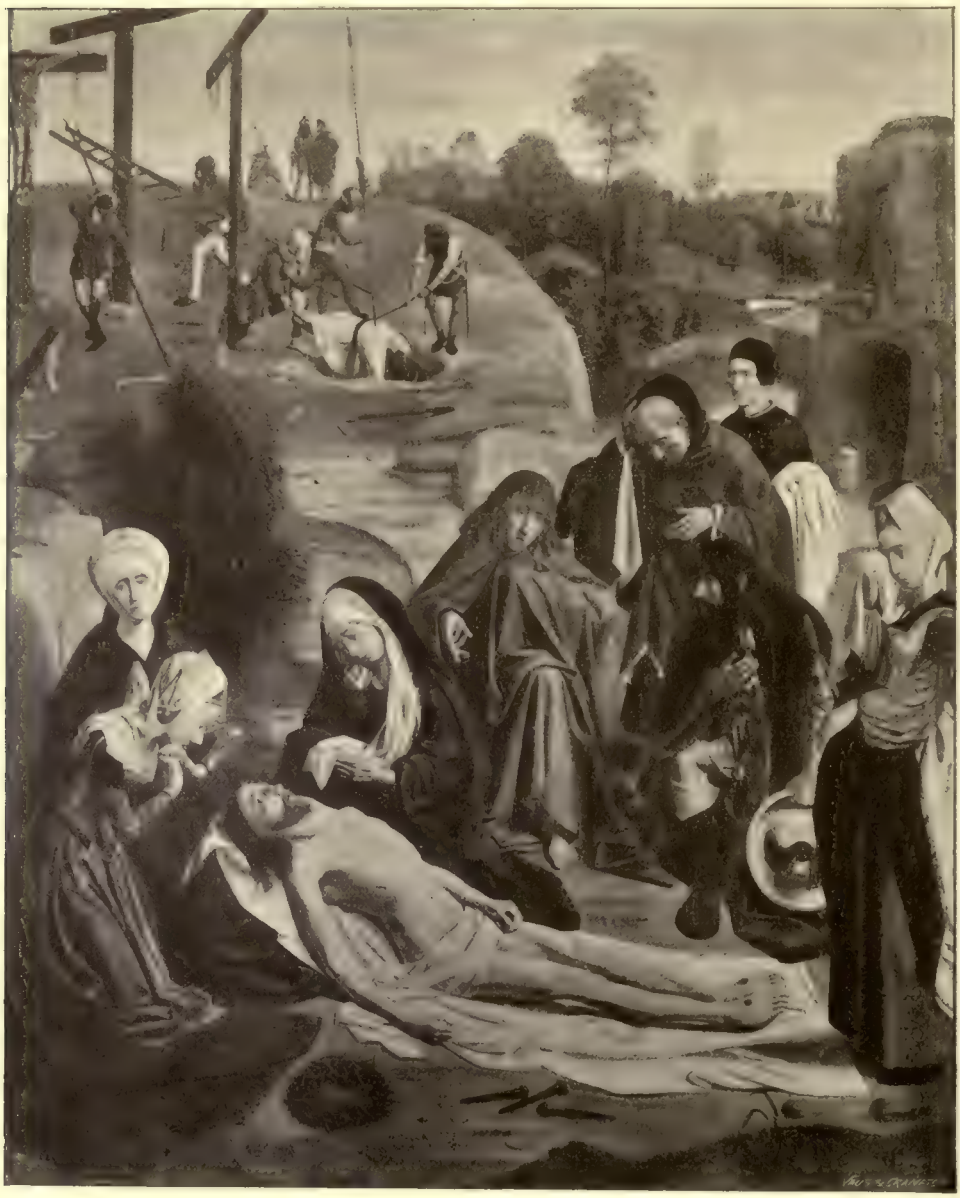
It is, above all, the sixteenth century from its beginning to its end that the gallery of King Charles so gloriously illustrated, and here

[1] The Christ Church picture is a feeble performance, unworthy to bear the great name affixed to it.

[2] In the Closet at Greenwich—valued at £40. Such a picture by Mantegna is in the collection of Mr. Boughton Knight, by whom it has been contributed to the Old Masters.

[3] No. 25 in the Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor at the New Gallery.

indeed it defied all rivalry, and outstripped even the finest royal col-



The Descent from the Cross. By Geertgen van St. Jans. Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

lections of its day—even those inherited by the Spanish crown for Charles V., Philip II., and Philip III.—even those inherited by the

French crown from François I. and the Valois kings—even those brought together by the art-loving Rudolph II. in the Imperial Castle of Prague.

It could not boast such a group of genuine Leonardos as constitute the chief glory of the Louvre, but it included the incomparable *Cartoons* of Raphael, it had at least one Giorgione which modern criticism has spared, its Titians were without a rival in the world, its Correggios unsurpassed, and some of its Tintorettos genuine and splendid, if its examples of Paolo Veronese, so far as we know them, were weak and doubtful. Let us first cast a rapid glance at a few of the most important Florentine, Umbro-Florentine and Roman pictures, beginning with the Raphaels.

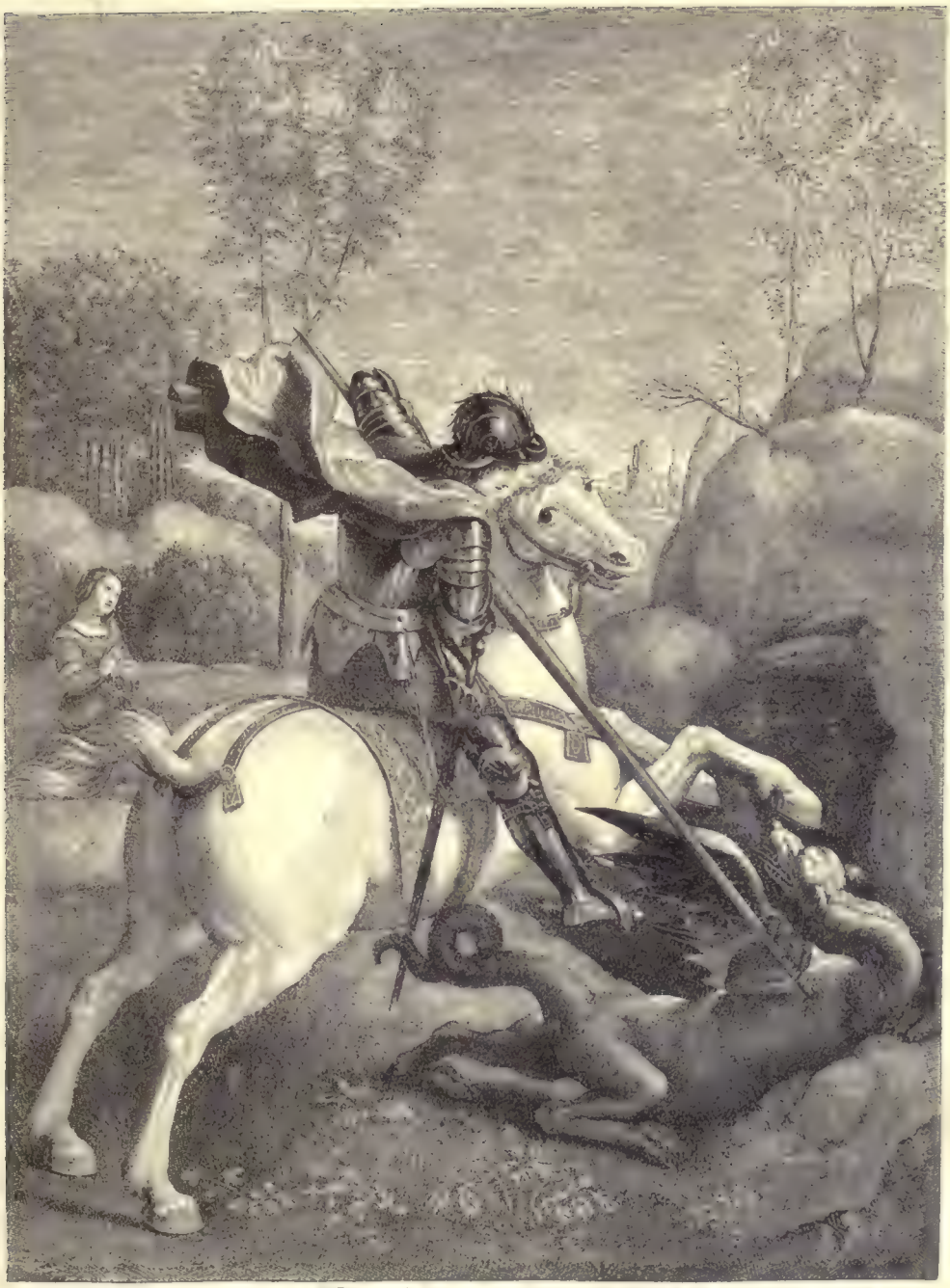
The first is the exquisite little *St. George slaying the Dragon*, in Vanderdoort's catalogue as "A Little St. George, which the king had in exchange of My Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Pembroke, for the book of Holbein's drawings . . . ." Painted for the Duke of Urbino, and sent over by him in 1506 as a gift to Henry VII. of England, who had conferred upon him the Order of the Garter—the bearer being the accomplished Baldassare Castiglione, whom Raphael painted some ten years later—it was sold by the Commonwealth for £150, and passing through the La Noue, De Sourdis, and Crozat collections, found a final resting-place in the Hermitage Gallery of St. Petersburg. The warrior-saint wears round his knee the band of the Garter, with the commencement of its device "Honi." The design is entirely different from that of the Louvre *St. George*, painted some two years earlier, in which the youthful master, though he has emancipated himself from Perugino's leading-strings, appears still in many essentials an Umbrian. In the Hermitage picture he is, if not a Florentine, at least an Umbro-Florentine ; and he relies, indeed, for the main lines of his composition on Donatello's relief at the base of the St. George Tabernacle at Or-San-michele[1] (an old stucco copy of which, in better condition than the

[1] Miss Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Henry Ady), in her very interesting monograph, "The Early Work of Raphael" (*The Portfolio*, January, 1895), has sought to prove that the *St. George* sent by the Duke of Urbino to Henry VII. was not, as has been universally assumed, the *St. George* of St. Petersburg, but the earlier *St. George* of the Louvre. She relies on the following curious entry in the inventory of pictures, furniture, jewels, &c., drawn up on the death of Henry VIII. (Harleian MS. 1419), in the British Museum) :—"126. Item. A table with the picture of St. George, his spear being

original, is in the South Kensington Museum). There is in the Dresden Gallery (No. 124) an interesting adaptation of the exquisite little piece, on a much enlarged scale, and with many variations, by Dosso Dossi. The splendid, erratic genius of the Ferrarese master has been infused into the design, of which with his exuberance, he contrives to make a new thing. This picture was long ascribed to Gianfrancesco Penni, Il Fattore, but was by Giovanni Morelli restored to the rightful author.

King Charles's contemporaries looked upon the *Madonna and Child with St. John and St. Anne*, now known as *La Perla*, as the gem of the royal gallery, and on its dispersion by the Commonwealth it was estimated at and actually brought £2,000, or double the price commanded by anything else in the collection. Now—how fallen from its high estate! —it is rightly looked upon as a Raphaelesque composition, designed in the main by the master, but as to its execution, as a production which the divine Sanzio left entirely to Giulio Romano and other pupils. Now, No 369 in the Prado Gallery of Madrid, it hangs with its shadows intensified to the point of blackness, but otherwise in fair repair, next

broken, and his sword in his hand"—a description applying well to the Louvre picture and ill to that of the Hermitage. Miss Cartwright goes on to assert that the "*little St. George*" in Charles's collection was the Louvre picture, and that it was from thence purchased by Cardinal Mazarin, out of whose collection it passed to that of Louis XIV. She overlooks, however, an important piece of evidence, demonstrating, beyond the possibility of a doubt, the exact contrary. This is afforded by the engraving of the St. Petersburg picture (in reverse) done by Lucas Vorsterman in 1627 for the Earl of Pembroke and dedicated to him, with an elaborate inscription recording the fact that it was one of his rarities. In 1628 or thereabouts the Lord Chamberlain, as has been seen, passed the picture on to Charles I. It may be argued that this does not absolutely negative Miss Cartwright's main contention, but it certainly very much weakens it. It must be borne in mind that there is nothing, save the description above given, to connect the entry in Henry VIII.'s Inventory in any way with Raphael. The manner of representing St. George which it indicates, though rare, was not unique, as we see from the great *Henry VII. and his family, with St. George slaying the Dragon*, just now referred to (Windsor Castle). Here, in a distant plain, is represented a colossal St. George mounted on a brown charger, encountering with his falchion the dragon, while on the ground lies the broken tilting-spear. It has just been shown that this last picture afterwards found its way, like the famous *Christina, Duchess of Milan*, by Holbein, from the Royal collection into that of the Earl of Arundel. In some such fashion, no doubt, the St. Petersburg *St. George* passed from the collection left behind by Henry VIII. into that of the Earl of Pembroke.



St. George and the Dragon. By Raphael. Hermitage, St. Petersburg.
From the engraving (in reverse). By Lucas Vorsterman.

to the *Madonna del Pesce* of Raphael, a sublime conception in the execution of which the master had at any rate a controlling hand. *La Perla* is, we may assume, identical with the picture done for the Counts of Canossa by Sanzio and misdescribed by Vasari as a *Nativity*; it is indeed mentioned by Daniel Nys in his correspondence as the *Madonna del Canozzo*, "for which the Duke of Mantua gave a Marquisate worth 50,000 scudi."

Another picture ascribed to Raphael in the Inventory was *A Marquis's Head* by Raphael (appraised at £200), and evidently identical with Vanderdoort's *The Marquis of Mantua, who by Charles V. was made first Duke of Mantua* ($5\frac{1}{2}$ *in. by* $8\frac{1}{2}$ *in.*). A picture answering to this description (not seen by the writer) was until lately at Charlecote in the Lucy collection.

If the very curious portrait, No. 710 at Hampton Court, is indeed the *Man with a Black Cap by Raphael*, sold by the Commonwealth for £30, then it is almost unnecessary to add that the strange personage with the glaring eyeballs and the stumpy nose is not the Urbinate, and that the painter of the panel had nothing to do either with him or his school.

Mention is also made in the South Kensington Inventory (Hampton Court), and in Walpole's *Anecdotes*, though not in Vanderdoort's Catalogue, which was confined to Whitehall and St. James, of a *Little Madonna and Christ* estimated at £800, the highest price of the sale considering its small size. Such a description seems best met by the little *Vierge de la Maison d'Orléans* ($11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches). This is probably the little picture described by Vasari as having been painted for Duke Guidobaldo of Urbino, and entered in the Urbino Inventory as *Quadretto d'una Madonna con un Cristo in braccio, in legno, che viene da Rafaelle*. After the sixteenth century it is not, so far as the writer is aware, to be traced, until it reappears in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans, brother of Louis XIV., whence it passed by inheritance into that of the Regent. It must be borne in mind that there is nothing at present, beyond some inherent probability, to support this hypothesis. Yet it is clear that the *Madonna* so highly estimated must have been a well-known and covetable work universally put down to the master.

According to the 1883 catalogue of the Louvre, the portrait of Baldassare Castiglione by Raphael (No. 371 in that collection) was in Charles's collection, and was "after the death of that prince purchased by a Dutch amateur in whose house Rubens copied it." This would have been a curious feat, by the way, seeing that Rubens died some nine years before his royal patron. It is certain, however, that not only the Antwerp master, but Rembrandt also, copied the picture when it belonged to Van Asselen. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle give some cogent evidence in support of their contention that the picture never could have been in the English collection. Painted in 1516, with an unusual swiftness and spontaneity of execution, it is one of the three greatest masterpieces of Sanzio in portraiture the other two being the *Leo X.* of the Pitti and the *Portrait of a Cardinal* at Madrid.

King Charles's collection contained also, among other things of the school of Raphael, a *St. Margaret*, now under its right name of Giulio Romano, No. 57 in the Vienna Gallery; and a repetition with variations[1] of the *Madonna della Rosa* of Madrid—itself no Raphael save in design, and hardly even that.

Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, in their *Raphael*, describe the *Virgin in the Ruins* in the collection at Kingston Lacy, as bearing the brand of King Charles. They do not accept this picture (not seen by the writer) as a genuine Raphael, but give it to Giulio Romano or Penni, and Polidoro (!).

It has already been seen that the King, fine connoisseur as he was, did not appreciate the Cartoons to the full, or treat them with the reverence which they should have inspired. It has been told, too, how they had remained neglected and misused in the ateliers of the Brussels weavers until in 1630 Rubens advised their acquisition by Charles, who appears to have bought chiefly for the purpose of having them reproduced in the royal workshops at Mortlake. The seven Cartoons which survive to us, and since 1866 have been exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, are luckily the finest of the series, and those most unmistakably referable to the master's own inspiration. If we are to judge of those which have disappeared by the tapestries themselves—the *Stoning of St. Stephen*, the *Conversion of St. Paul*, the *St. Paul in Prison*—we

[1] According to Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the Munro-Novar example.

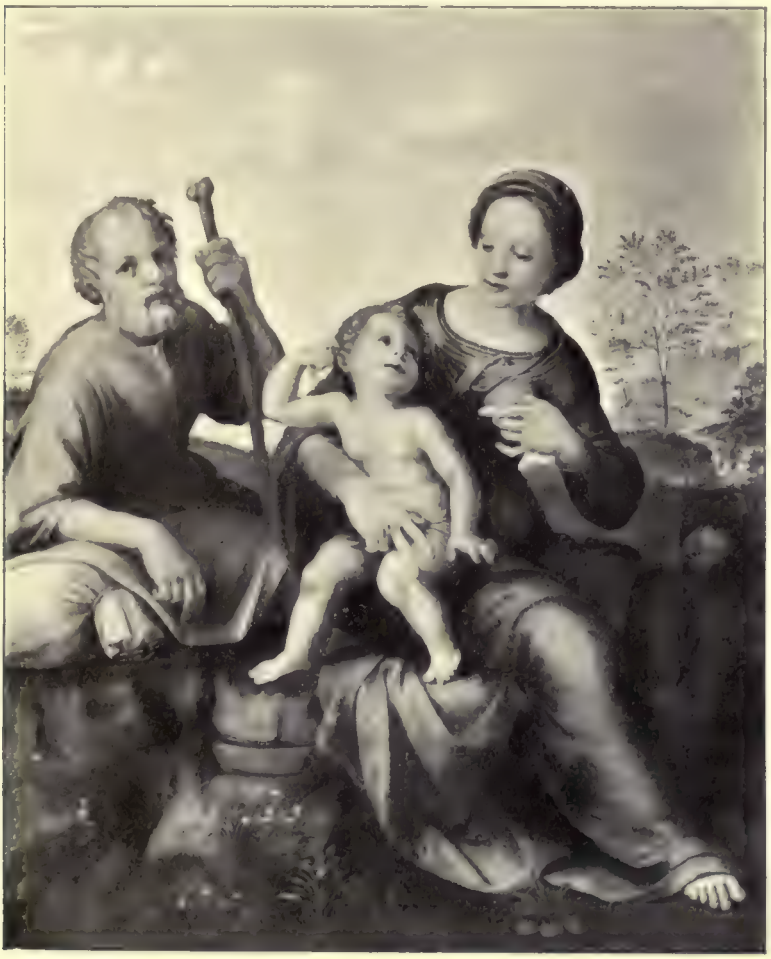
must assume that not only the execution, but even the working out of the designs from preliminary sketches was in these cases handed over to the chief pupils. Still we may a little hesitate to assume this with absolute certainty, when we look at the tapestries, and see how in them, superb as they are from the industrial and purely decorative standpoint, Raphael's conception is lowered and almost caricatured. For the tapestry with the *Coronation of the Virgin*, destined to take its place over the high altar of the Cappella Sistina, there is a superb pen-and-bistre sketch in the University Collections at Oxford, from which, however, the design as ultimately worked out, very considerably departs.

The Cartoons, even in their present dilapidated state, are, next to the Pheidian sculptures of the Parthenon, the most precious artistic possessions of England, and Anton Springer has not been over-enthusiastic when he called them precisely, "Die Parthenonsculpturen der modernen Kunst."[1] Done in 1515 and 1516, when the art of Raphael had reached its highest expansion, worked out no doubt by pupils, but, as we must infer, with the zealous and watchful co-operation of the master himself, they represent the very quintessence of his genius. Less complicated, less highly wrought than the great frescoes of his earlier and later maturity in the Stanze, they are, for all the well-considered balance of the designs, more natural, more spontaneous in their sublimity, more truly the outcome of the painter's vision than even these. With them the artificial academic side of Raphael's art has not got the upper hand as it has in the *Spasimo di Sicilia* and the *Transfiguration*, as it has even in the early Borghese *Entombment*. Their incomparable majesty is the outcome of a supreme development of natural truth, selected and magnified, but not unduly twisted. In the great altar-pieces, just now cited, on the other hand, the aim has been in the first place to achieve academic grace and the perfection of each separate element of the picture, with the result that truth has gone to the wall, and has been replaced by an unconvincing rhetoric. It is curious to note how in the two Cartoons which are perhaps the noblest, and are certainly the most moving of the series—the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes* and the *Christ Delivering the Keys to Peter*—Raphael shows himself still, with all his Roman *maestria*, in temperament an Umbrian. It is this atmosphere of aloofness and mystery,

[1] Anton Springer, *Raffael und Michelangelo*.

enwrapping them, and tempering their majesty with a certain dreamy tenderness, which constitutes their unique charm, and gives them a place by themselves among the works of Raphael's great maturity.

The Florence of the sixteenth century is represented by one of



Holy Family. By Franciabigio. Imperial Gallery, Vienna.

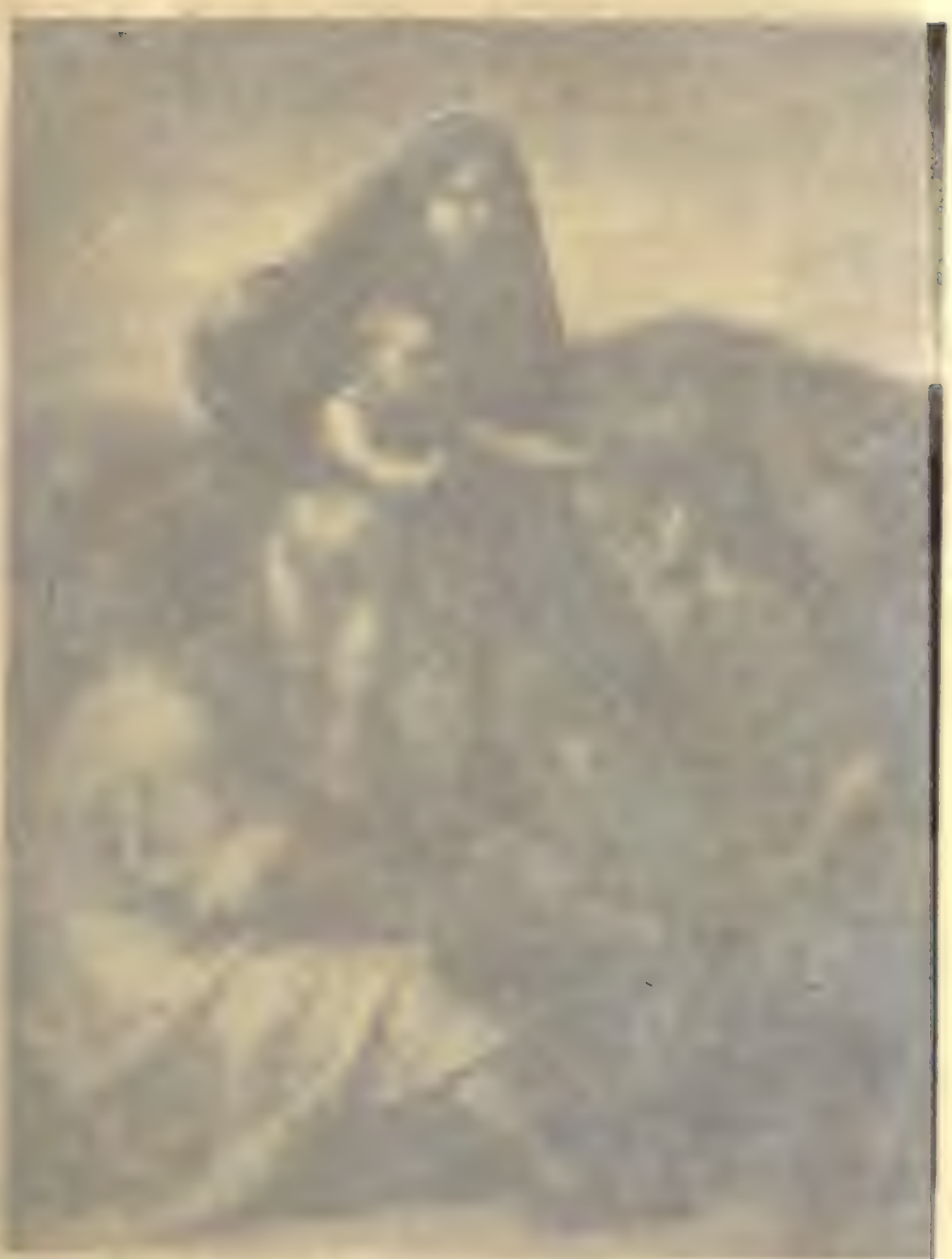
the finest of Andrea del Sarto's altar-pieces to be seen out of Tuscany, the *Holy Family with an Angel*, called at the Prado, where it is No. 385, *Asunto mistico.* Here, though Andrea is as ever cold and impersonal, his sovereign quality of style tells irresistibly. Another picture which

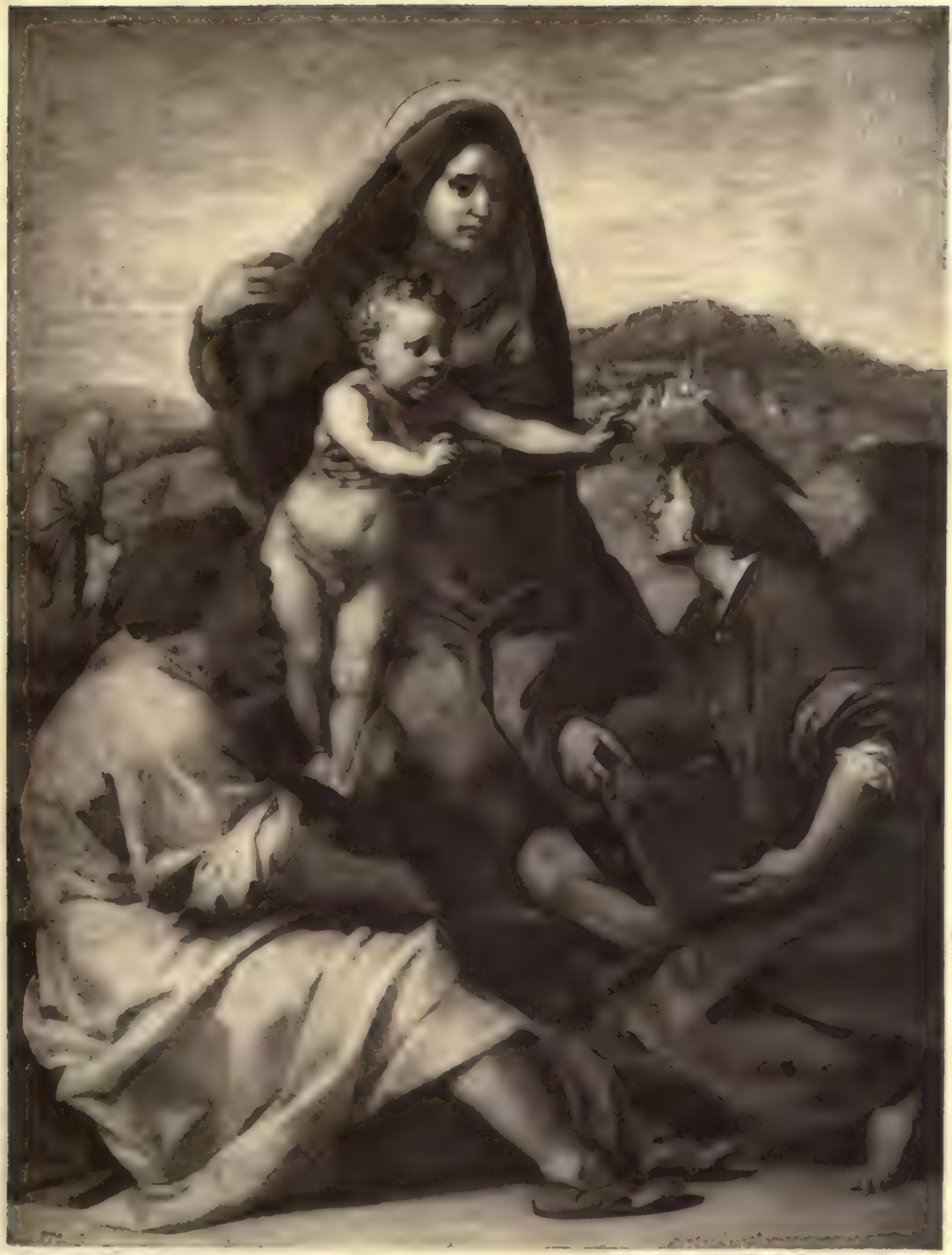
was in Charles's collection as an Andrea del Sarto, and is now catalogued in the Vienna Gallery, as a piece of his school, No. 28, is in reality by his fellow-student Franciabigio. It is a picture identical in style though not in design with the *Madonna del Pozzo*, by the same Florentine painter, in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, where until quite recently it usurped the name of Raphael. Another Florentine picture is the *Contest of the Muses and Pierides*, by Giambattista Rosso (No. 352 in the Louvre—brought by Charles from Madrid). Manifestly Florentine, too, in its origin is the *Lady in a Green Dress*, of Hampton Court (No. 70), attributed by Vanderdoort to Bartolommeo del Piombo (*sic*), but in the Commonwealth Inventory entered as *A Woman in Green*, by Andrea del Sarto, and sold to Mr. Bass, December 19th, 1651, for £100."[1] The painter, whoever he may be, is an artist bred if not born in Florence; he has a good deal of the hard sculptural style and the dignity of Bronzino, yet is clearly not that master.

Raphael's pupil Giulio Romano was supremely well represented in Charles's collection, and he received there, as afterwards from the Commonwealth valuers, the honours of a master of the very first rank. Apart from his preponderant share in *La Perla*, he was represented by that ugly, mannered, yet in its way imposing, composition of the artist's post-Raphaelite time *The Nativity*, originally in St. Andrea at Mantua, and on the dispersion of Charles's collection, bought by the dealer Jabach and sold to Louis XIV. This was estimated at and sold for £500. Another Giulio Romano which from the Royal collection has found its way into the Louvre is the *Triumph of Titus and Vespasian* (No. 293). Then we have the *Eleven Cæsars*, estimated by the Commonwealth at £1100, and sold for that sum. As is shown by the two examples of this series still preserved at Hampton Court (Nos. 257 and 290) these were equestrian figures.[2] With the other pictures by and ascribed to this artist—not of the first order even as Giulio Romanos—which have found their way back to Hampton Court, it is impossible

[1] Law's *Historical Catalogue*.

[2] They are described in the Mantua Inventory of 1627 as "Dieci altri quadri dipintovi un Imperatore per quadro a cavallo—opera di mano di Giulio Romano (D'Arco—Delle Arti et degli Artefici in Mantova—Inventario della Galleria di quadri, &c., della Corte dei Duca (*sic*) di Mantova).





Holy Family, with an Angel

to deal on the present occasion, and it is the less necessary to do so, seeing that in the admirable and often-quoted catalogue of Mr. Law they are referred to in the fullest detail. This is, indeed, the case with all the pictures which belonged to King Charles, to his brother, Prince Henry, or to James II.

Under the head of the Milanese School we must deal with the *St. John the Baptist*, famous as a Leonardo da Vinci, which was obtained by King Charles from Louis XIII. in exchange for the *Erasmus* of Holbein in the Salon Carré, and a *Holy Family* by Titian, not to be identified among those now in the Louvre. It found its way back into the Royal collections of France on the dispersion of Charles's treasures, being purchased by Jabach and by him ceded to Louis XIV. Many critics of authority, especially among the French biographers of the master, still hold the picture to be his; but to the writer it appears in many points—as in the drawing and modelling of the nude, and the treatment of the hair—to be beneath his level, and to proclaim itself a Leonardesque production, exaggerating the suave mannerisms of Leonardo's Milanese manner. That it enjoyed considerable celebrity is proved by the existence of many copies, taken either from this picture, or like it from the fountain-head of inspiration. They are for the most part in a lighter, gayer key, among them being one at the Ambrosiana of Milan, and two which were, the year before last, in the Exhibition of Italian Art at the New Gallery. Théophile Gautier, the most delightful of all those purely literary critics, whose object is less to judge a work of art on its merits than to weave round it their web of iridescent prose, said of the *St. John the Baptist*, strangely, yet not incomprehensibly, that it was a second *Joconde*, plus mystérieux, plus étrange, dégagé de la ressemblance littérale, et peignant l'âme à travers le voile du corps."

By Giampetrino is a *St. Catherine with a Palm Branch*, No. 259 at Hampton Court, but there is nothing to prove that this was in King Charles's collection. The *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, No. 241 in the same gallery, which *was* in the Royal collection, is not, as has been suggested, the repetition of an original by Bernardino Luini, but the copy with, it may be, some variation, of the picture formerly in the Orleans Gallery as a Leonardo, and now in the Vienna Gallery

(No. 20), correctly ascribed to his pupil, Cesare da Sesto. The *Portrait of a Woman with Flowers*, No. 61 at Hampton Court, and there, with a query, put down to Leonardo—as it was, indeed, in King Charles's catalogue—is by Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, a high authority, especially on this his chosen ground, accepted as a genuine Luini. The writer confesses that he is unable to see in it more than a second-rate Milanese performance more or less in his manner. The Leonardesque *Infant Christ caressing St. John* (No. 64 at Hampton Court), a picture which Charles obtained, as we have seen, from the Earl of Pembroke in exchange for the little Mantegnesque *Judith*, then put down to Raphael, may be safely ascribed to the master's pupil, Marco d'Oggionno, an indifferent painter, except when he is working, as here, from a design supplied by the *chef d'école*. It would be possible to point to many repetitions, both Italian and Flemish, of the same charming motive. Such an Italian repetition was quite recently seen in the Doetsch sale at Christie's, and a fine Flemish example of the picture, with an elaborate architectural background of Northern character, is in the Gallery of the Hague as a Mabuse. Other repetitions are in the Naples Gallery and the Weimar Museum. Lorenzo Lotto has adopted the same design of the children kissing with some variation, in his exquisite *Madonna and Child*, of 1518 in the Dresden Gallery.

An important work was evidently the Mantua piece, "*Our Lady and Christ, St. John, St. Ann, St. Joseph, St. Katherine*—six entire figures less than the life, said to be done by Lovino, or otherwise by one out of the school of Leonardo da Vinci (4 feet 5 inches by 4 feet)," which has not as yet been traced. It has occurred to the writer that it may be a picture in the collection of Mr. A. Hugh Smith-Barry, M.P., which was ecstatically praised by Dr. Waagen as a Boltraffio. The latter does not exactly agree with Vanderdoort's description, there being six entire figures besides the Virgin and Child, and among them no St. Catherine, but in her place a kneeling donatrix, who may have been mistaken for the saint of the *Mystic Marriage*. The dimensions are, however, within a single inch those given by Vanderdoort (4 feet 4 inches by 4 feet). The large panel is evidently by one painting in the Milanese style, and it shows in a marked degree the influence both of Cesare da Sesto and Boltraffio; but the hand is surely that of a Fleming painting south of

the Alps from Leonardesque models so smooth and fused is the handling, so enamel-like the texture, so little spontaneous, so little thought-out from within, is the conception.

When we come to Venice and the Venetian territory the *embarras de richesses* is so great that it is impossible to touch upon more than a certain number of the most celebrated pieces.

Apart from all the doubtful Giorgiones, which were many in the catalogues of King Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, but innumerable in that of King James II., we find from the catalogue of the Louvre pictures (though not, it must be owned, in the inventories of the English King's possessions) that the famous *Concert Champêtre* of Giorgione was purchased by Jabach from the sale of Charles I. and sold to Louis XIV. This exquisite work, which has suffered many attacks from the critics, as have, indeed, almost all the pictures formerly accepted as Barbarelli's, now at last stands forth practically accepted on all hands as the typical Giorgione pastoral; and impaired though its radiance is by time and restoration, it must be ranked as one of the most splendid examples of his later manner (Louvre, No. 39). As Giorgione's was catalogued among Charles's possessions, and is still nominally catalogued in the Louvre, the much-discussed *Holy Family with St. Catherine of Alexandria* and *St. Sebastian* (No. 38). It is, however, beyond reasonable doubt an example of Cariani in his Giorgionesque-Palmesque mood, and one boasting, notwithstanding the hotness of the splendid colour, undeniable pictorial attractions.[1] Another Cariani in Charles I.'s collection formerly ascribed to Giorgione, and like the foregoing a Mantua piece, is the *Shepherds' Offering* (No. 135 at Hampton Court), an example of the variable Bergamesque master almost as indifferent as the *Holy Family* in the National Gallery, which, however, possesses a finer example of his art in the *Death of St. Peter Martyr*, a dramatic performance in which Cariani appears to have undergone the influence of Romanino. In the Hampton Court picture a certain Veronese influence is apparent.[2] *A Shepherd with a Pipe* (No. 101 at Hampton Court) is catalogued both in Charles I.'s

[1] Appraised at £100 and sold for £114.

[2] Can this be the *Madonna Circondata da Angeli e Pastori di mano di Dosso* of the Mantuan Inventory (D'Arco, *op. cit.*)?

and James II.'s collections as a Giorgione. Giovanni Morelli[1] was, however, the first in our time to propose the rehabilitation of the picture as a genuine Giorgione; but he did so tentatively, and expressly declared that, having seen the picture in a bad light, he would not make himself answerable for the attribution. More recently some critics of authority belonging to his school, among them Dr. Gustavo Frizzoni, Mr. Bernard Berenson, and Dr. J. P. Richter, have definitively accepted Morelli's suggestion, and place the *Shepherd* without hesitation in the short list of unquestionable Giorgiones. The writer, having last winter had many opportunities of seeing the picture in the naked light of day in the Venetian Exhibition at the New Gallery, is unable to concur in the attribution to Barbarelli himself, finding the execution too flimsy and superficial, the loose style of painting too late for him. A genuine Giorgione picture or design was no doubt at the root of the *Shepherd* as well as of the inferior replicas and variations of the motive which exist elsewhere. Among these the most interesting is the *David with the Head of Goliath* (No. 285 in the Vienna Gallery), formerly in Archduke Leopold William's collection, and probably in that of Charles also, as *A Man with a Sword*, by Giorgione (Somerset House Inventory).

The so-called *Portrait of Giorgione by Himself* (No. 1 in Vanderdoort's Catalogue) is in all probability the picture No. 103 at Hampton Court, though the Viennese cataloguers also put in a claim, declaring it to be the No. 354 in the Imperial Gallery there, described as *A Young Man in a Black Hat, probably the Painter himself.* This last may, however, be the *Man in a Hatt*, sold to Colonel Webb on October 30th, 1649, for £10, although Hampton Court claims it as No 60 in the *Historical Catalogue. A Piece of Music*, by Giorgione (appraised in the Commonwealth Inventory at £100) is the *Concert*, No. 144 at Hampton Court, there ascribed to Lorenzo Lotto. It bears a striking resemblance to the greatly superior and better preserved *Three Ages of Man* at the Pitti Palace, there also given to Lorenzo Lotto, but by Giovanni Morelli ranked as an original Giorgione, an attribution which must be deemed still open to question. Of the paintings by Palma Vecchio up to the present identified among the king's pictures the finest is the *Madonna and Child*

[1] Ivan Lermolieff, *Die Galerien von München und Dresden*, p. 286.

adored by Saints, No. 115 in the Hampton Court Gallery. This was described as a Palma both in Vanderdoort's Catalogue and the Commonwealth Inventory; appraised at £200, it fetched £225. Among the sacred works of "Old" Palma to be found in England there is nothing so beautiful or so characteristic. The *Holy Family with St. Bridget* (No. 79), nominally put down to him in the same collection, is a washed-out repetition with some slight variation of a famous early Titian

Holy Family with St. Bridget. Copy of a picture by Titian. Hampton Court. From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

in the Prado Gallery of Madrid, where, until quite recently, it was catalogued as a Giorgione. In Charles's collection was also to be found a Palma which has enjoyed the highest celebrity among his productions. This is the *Lucretia killing Herself* (No. 338 in the Vienna Gallery), a superb example of female loveliness, such as the Venetians prized, and one rendered doubly attractive, too, by the dramatic passion which spiritualises its sensuous character. A better and more authentic example, however, than the popular Vienna picture is the one in the Borghese Gallery

at Rome, now removed to the Villa Borghese, though its reputation with the general public is not so great.

Of the magnificent *Portrait of Andrea Odoni*, by Lorenzo Lotto, dated 1527 (No. 148 at Hampton Court), there remains nothing new to be said. It was in Van Reynst's collection, and formed part of the Dutch

Portrait of Andrea Odoni. By Lorenzo Lotto. Hampton Court. From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

gift to Charles II., but we cannot yet trace it in the gallery of his predecessor.

The *Portrait of a Man in a Red Girdle* (No. 92 at Hampton Court), as a Pordenone, is superb in force and grasp of character. There is something in the execution, however, and especially in the

landscape background, suggesting less a true Venetian than a northern hand schooled to paint in the Venetian style.

The eyes dazzle when we come to the Titians, and pass in review the masterpieces owned by Charles, and now alas! for the most part the glories of foreign galleries. The master of Cadore is to be seen from those early days in which the Bellini, and afterwards Giorgione were his inspiring influences, through the period of his long and splendid maturity, in the latter part of which an undisguised sensuousness makes itself felt, on to the not less splendid period of his prolonged old age. Its extreme period, however, in which the master painted sacred subjects with a passion, an awe, almost a fear, for which there is no parallel in the earlier works, can only be understood at Venice and Madrid. As belonging to this last class in the king's collection it is difficult to point to anything beyond the ultra-passionate *St. Margaret with the Dragon*, now No. 469 in the Prado Gallery. The earliest Titian in our collection, and one of the earliest known to exist is the *Pope Alexander VI. recommending the Bishop of Paphos* (*Baffo*) *to St. Peter*, now in the Antwerp Gallery. Here the student may, as in no other extant example of the master —save perhaps the early *Virgin and Child* at Vienna, known as *La Zingarella*—trace his artistic origin, and mark how in the *Alexander VI.* he recalls Gentile, in the *St. Peter* Giovanni Bellini, and in the kneeling bishop or admiral Jacopo Pesaro—he was, it appears both—his contemporary and master, Giorgione. This picture has the added interest that we can date it pretty accurately. The detested Borgia, Alexander VI., died on the 18th of August, 1503, and after that date no Italian painter would have ventured to reproduce his effigy, unless he cared to run the risk of having his picture torn to pieces. The beautiful canvas, No. 452 in the Louvre, fantastically named there *Alfonso of Ferrara and Laura de' Dianti*, was called in the Commonwealth Inventory, *Titian's Mistress after the Life*, and described at length by Vanderdoort with a false attribution to Permensius (Parmegianino). Somewhat later in style than the *Vanity*, of Munich, it ranks with and above it as a supreme presentment of Venetian loveliness of the more material order—such a one as Palma himself has hardly equalled.[1] The *Entombment*, No. 446 in the

[1] In the S.K.M. Inventory (Whitehall) as "Pope Alexander and Seigr. Burgeo (Borgia) his son." Appraised and sold by the Commonwealth at £100.

Louvre,[1] is one of the world's greatest pictures, and to describe or to praise it anew would be almost an impertinence. Titian in the full splendour of his early maturity still shows here his artistic descent from Giorgione.

Scarcely less noble or less well known is the *Supper at Emmaus*,[2] No 443 in the Louvre, in which the sublime mansuetude of the Christ between the disciples shows the highest level of mature yet not over-ripe Venetian art. An early portrait by Titian is the superb though injured half-length, No. 149 at Hampton Court—there without reason called *Alessandro de' Medici*—than which, injured though it is, it would be difficult to point to a more subtle or powerful piece of characterisation in the whole portrait gallery of the master. Like the *Andrea Odoni*, it belonged to Van Reynst, and returned to England in the Dutch gift, but we can only conjecture that it may have been one of King Charles's Italian acquisitions. He owned among his pictures ascribed to Vecellio a repetition of the famous *St. Sebastian*, in one of the wings to the great altar-piece painted in 1522 for the Church of SS. Nazzaro e Celso, at Brescia. This clever, contorted academic study, inspired by the art of Michelangelo, and taking physical agony as its key-note, was deemed by Titian, as we are told, the best thing he had ever done. Such a repetition of the *St. Sebastian* belongs to Earl Wemyss, and has been seen at the Old Masters'. Its background does not, however, quite agree with that in the King's picture, in which the saint is described as bound to a pillar. The great full-length *Charles V. with a White Dog*, now No. 453 in the Prado Gallery, where it adorns the *Sala de la Reina Isabel*, was the picture brought by Charles as Prince of Wales from Madrid. Though dimmed and injured, it still presents the Emperor with that *grandeza*, that undemonstrative dignity above vulgar display, of which the Hapsburg princes in the Spanish branch had the secret. Presented to Charles at the same time, as has already been recounted, was the great *Jupiter and Antiope*,[3] No. 449 in the Louvre, and universally known as the *Venere del Pardo*. Exception may be taken in it to the breaking up of the

[1] Sold by the Commonwealth at the unaccountably low price of £120. Louis XIV. obtained it from Jabach for 3,200 francs (Lafenestre).

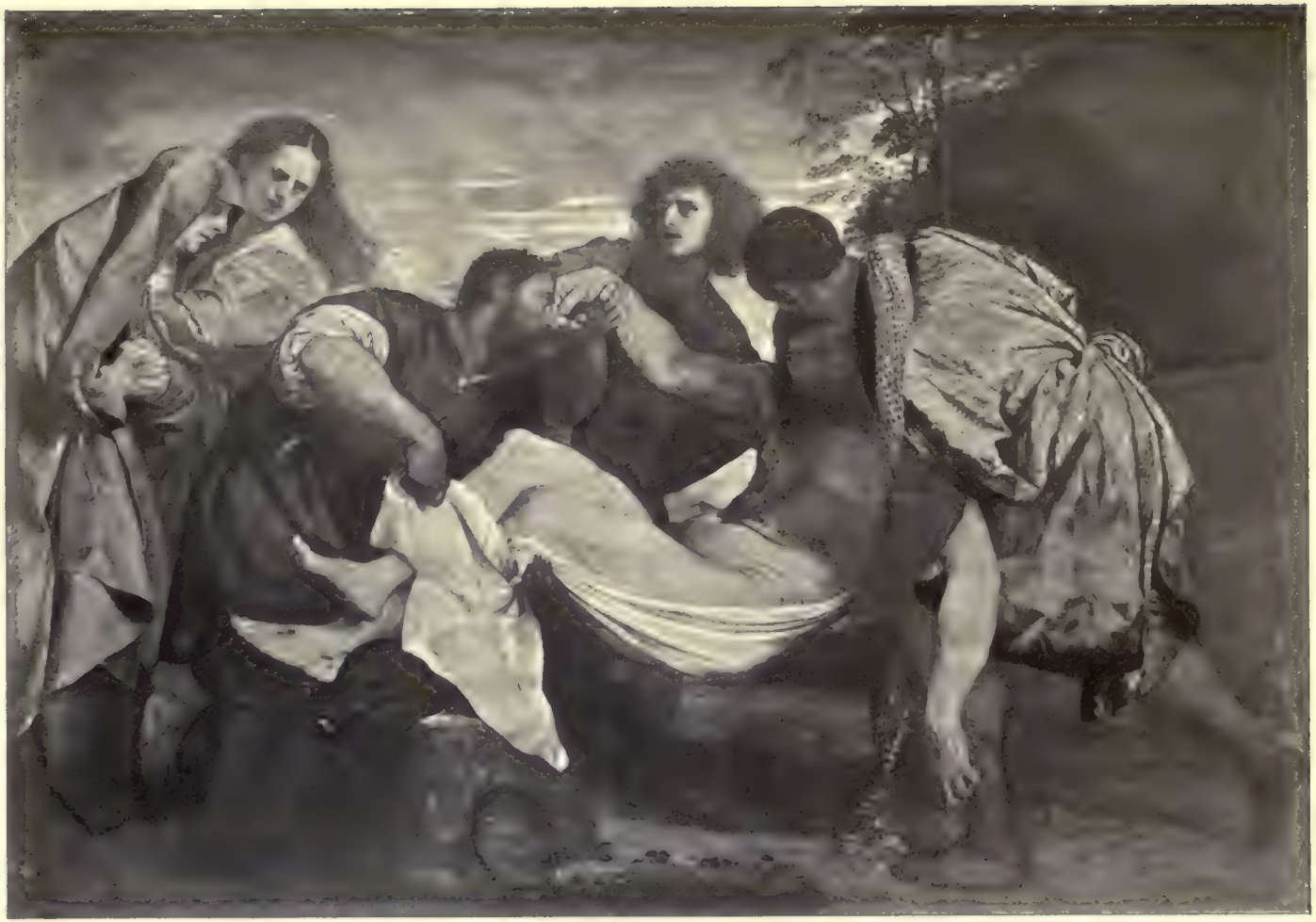
[2] Appraised by the Commonwealth at £600.

[3] Appraised in the Commonwealth Inventory at £500; sold for £650.

The Bishop of Paphos (Baffo) recommended to St. Peter. By Titian. Antwerp.
From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.

composition into two distinct halves, but the rich leafy landscape shows the master at his best. The beautiful figure of the sleeping Antiope contains nearly as pronounced a reminiscence of Giorgione's great *Venus* at Dresden, as does the more famous of Titian's two *Venuses* in the Tribuna. The same model which served for this last piece and the *Bella di Tiziano*, at the Pitti, may be detected in the painter's *Young Girl wrapped in Fur*, No. 473 in the Vienna Gallery, which came too with Charles from Spain, and had its place in his collection. It may have suggested to Rubens his famous *Hélène Fourment in a Fur Mantle*, also in the Vienna Gallery. Another but a very doubtful Titian from the Collection, now to be found in the Vienna Gallery, is the *Portrait of a Man in Three Aspects* (No. 244) catalogued by Vanderdoort as "Three heads, one full-faced and two side-faced . . . . being all three done from one that was a jeweller."

We have a *Duchess of Mantua*, by Titian, in the Commonwealth Inventory estimated at £50, and identical no doubt with Vanderdoort's. If so, it cannot be that great portrait of Isabella Gonzaga, which is No. 476 in the Vienna Gallery, the costume of which does not at all agree with this description, while there is proof that it was not one of the pieces sent to England, it being ascertained that it was at Mantua in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and was there copied by Rubens. There was, however, in Charles's collection, and is now No. 1177 in the Vienna Gallery, a copy by Rubens of yet another portrait done by Titian of the great Marchioness, which does exactly answer to Vanderdoort's description, and it thus appears probable that the king possessed one of Rubens's wonderful copies, which passed for the original. A superb example of the late time is the so-called *Allegory*, No. 451 in the Louvre, showing Don Alonso Dávalos (or d'Avalos), Marqués del Vasto, with his wife and two children, as the Commonwealth Sale Register puts it, "representing Mars, Venus, and Cupid." No. 471 in the Prado Gallery at Madrid is the *Marqués del Vasto haranguing his troops*, undoubtedly the same picture which Vanderdoort refers to in Charles's collection as *The Marquis of Vangona* (*sic*), but showing in the two principal figures such disproportions as to arouse the suspicion that it cannot be from the master's own hand. The large *Repose in Egypt*, No. 472 in the Prado Gallery, was also one of the

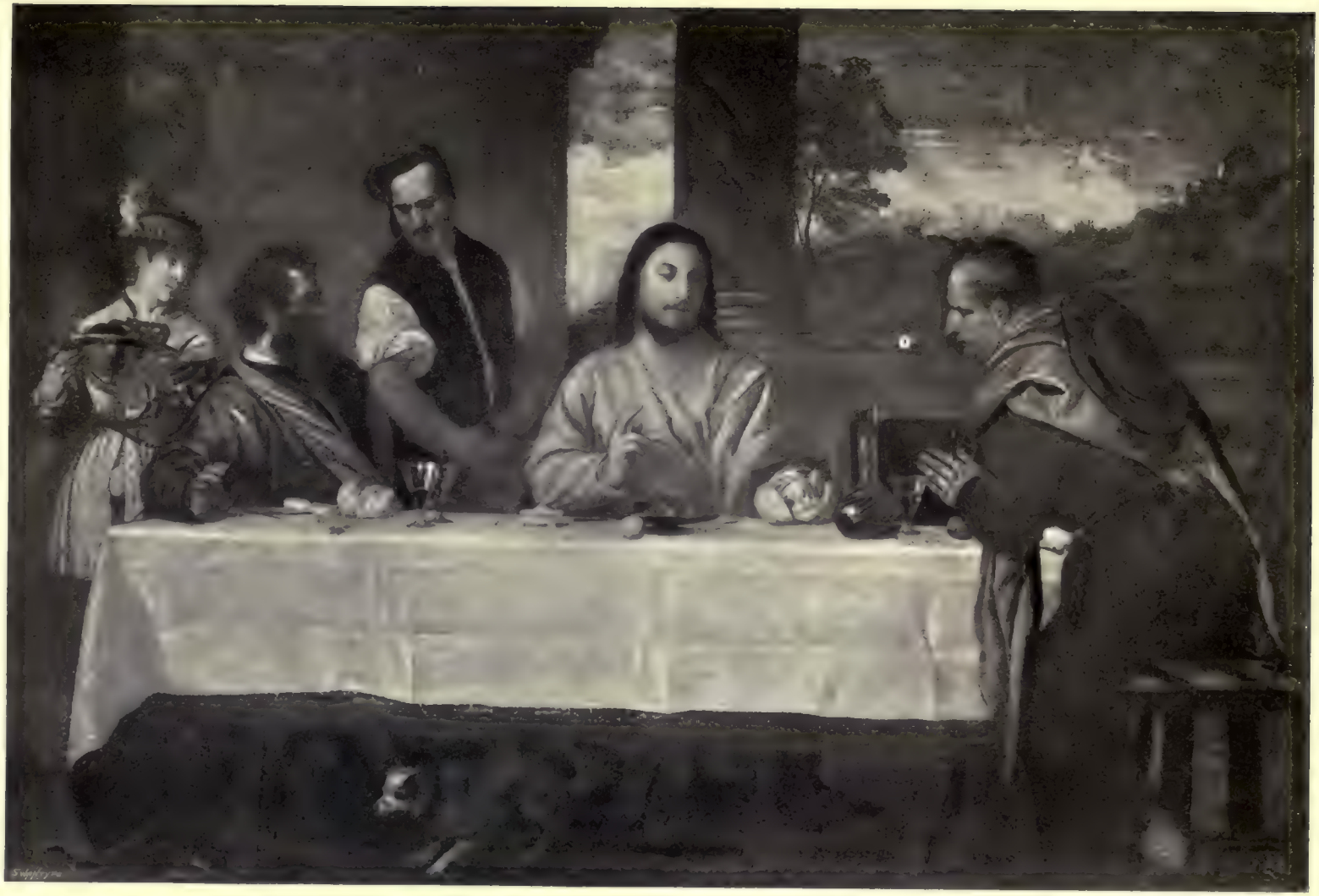


The Entombment. By Titian. Louvre.
From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.

spoils brought from London to Madrid, and presented by the minister Don Luis Mendez de Haro to Philip IV. It is a splendid decorative landscape in a high, light key, and of unusual dimensions, with figures too insignificant, nevertheless, to pass muster as the work of Titian himself. It must be borne in mind, all the same, that in 1569—that is in the master's lifetime—it was engraved as his work. A late piece, the high celebrity of which is evidenced by the copies at St. Petersburg, the Hague, and elsewhere, is the so-called *Venus with a Cavalier playing on the Organ*, No. 459 in the Prado Gallery, called also *Orazio Farnese with his Mistress as Venus*. It is curious to trace, with Morelli, the descent of the Venetian ideal from the realistic, yet spiritualised, *Venus* of Giorgione at Dresden to Titian's *Venus of the Tribuna*, to that later *Venus and Cupid*, also in the Tribuna, and then to such pictures as the *Venus* of Madrid, the *Danaë* of the same gallery, and the *Europa* of Lord Darnley's collection. This so-called divinity, with a Venetian cavalier in attendance, is nothing more or less than a fashionable Venetian courtesan, the exhibition of whose wholly undraped charms is scarcely tolerable now that the transmuting element of imagination has evaporated. The *Salome with the Head of the Baptist*, No. 461 at the Prado, and once perhaps, according to the Madrid catalogue, in the collection of Charles, is a much later, but still an original variation of the well-known picture, the best example of which is in the Berlin Gallery.

In the South Kensington Museum Inventory, though not in Vanderdoort, we find *Titian's Picture of Himself* (appraised at £100), which may possibly be the pale, noble likeness nearly in profile, now No. 477 in the Prado Gallery, and there catalogued as having belonged to Philip IV. It is a picture far transcending in solemn beauty the full-face portraits at Berlin and the Uffizi—showing just such a Titian as he must have been who, with earthly desires at length burnt to ashes, but artistic passion flaming higher and clearer, found in the often-painted sacred subjects a new fountain of inspiration.

Entirely by itself stands that famous decorative series of canvases the *Twelve Emperors* or *Twelve Cæsars*, of which it would appear from the Mantua Inventory that Titian only painted eleven, leaving the twelfth to be done by Giulio Romano. They were ordered of him by the Duke of Mantua to adorn a Saloon in the Palazzo del Tè, designed by Giulio



The Disciples at Emmaus. By Titian. Louvre.
From a photograph by Messrs. Braun, Clément & Cie.

Romano, the twelve half-lengths being taken from the busts collected by Bembo and the statues and medals owned by the duke himself. No better

The Marqués del Vasto with his Family. By Titian. Louvre.

evidence of the estimation in which Titian's contemporaries held the series need be required than the fact that Bernardino Campi of Cremona made from them five distinct sets of copies, commissioned of him by Charles V.,

the Duke of Alva, d'Avalos, Rangone, and another Spanish grandee.[1] Agostino Caracci, too, copied them for the palace of Parma, and Sadeler engraved them. Perhaps the best idea of the *Twelve Cæsars* can be obtained, not from any of the extant copies on full scale, such as those in the collection of Earl Brownlow, but from a small series painted in copper to be found in the Provincial Gallery at Hanover. In comparison with the original, these are but miniatures, and they are of a later time, yet somehow Titian speaks more unmistakably through them than in any of the more important and more nearly contemporary reproductions. The combination which they reveal of Venetian splendour and vitality with Roman dignity has a rare and peculiar charm. The *Cæsars* came to England with the rest of the Mantuan collection, were sold to the Spanish ambassador for £1200, then, upon their arrival in Spain, engulfed in the Alcazar of Madrid, in one of the numerous fires affecting which they are deemed to have been consumed. Van Dyck is said to have repainted the *Vitellius*, which was one of several canvases irretrievably ruined by the quicksilver of the frames during the transit from Mantua, and to have repaired a *Galba* or an *Otho*.

The *Lucretia killing herself*, which was in Charles's Gallery as a Titian (No. 75 at Hampton Court), has no real claim to be discussed as such, except that it is given to the master in the Mantua Inventory. Vanderdoort's catalogue shows that there were besides this in the Collection two entirely distinct representations of *Tarquin and Lucrece*—a greater and a smaller—both ascribed to the splendid Venetian. Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle put forth the suggestion that a much damaged canvas of this subject in the Wallace collection, at Hertford House, may be the larger of these. The writer is informed that in the collection of Mr. Charles Butler there is another *Tarquin and Lucrece* of Venetian origin, with the brand of the Stuart king. At Christ Church, Oxford, we have an *Adoration of the Shepherds*, ascribed to Titian, and bearing the like evidence of having had a place in the Royal Collection. As a typical example, among several, of the canvases put down to Vecellio in the catalogue and inventories, but not as yet identified, may be given the *Mary, Christ, St. Mark, and a Genius kneeling*, appraised at the relatively high price of £150, and sold for £165.

[1] *La Vie et l'Œuvre du Titien*, Georges Lafenestre.

Finally, it may be remembered that the not more than middling school-piece *A Music Party*, No. 3 in the National Gallery, was in the Royal Collection as a Titian.

Among a great many canvases ascribed to Tintoretto, three stand out prominently. First in merit is the magnificent *Nine Muses*,[1] No. 77 at Hampton Court, signed, as only a very few of his most important works were signed, "Jacomo Tentoreto en Venetia." In style though not in preservation it may be paralleled with the four celebrated decorative canvases in the Anticollegio of the Doges' Palace at Venice. It is not however, as suggested by the Hampton Court Catalogue, one of the four mythological compositions painted by Tintoretto for the Emperor Rudolph, and described by Ridolfi in 1642. He describes *Muses playing various Instruments in a Garden*. Such a picture, catalogued as by Tintoretto, is No. 648 in the Vienna Gallery; it shows the Muses on the margin of Hippocrene playing musical instruments, while above in a glory of light Apollo appears. (No. 69—Archduke Leopold William's collection.) At Hampton Court (No. 69) is the *Queen Esther before Ahasuerus*,[2]—with all its Venetian richness an important rather than an impressive picture. A less finished example of the same design is in the Escorial. It is the great *Christ Washing the Feet of the Disciples* by Tintoretto, now the crowning glory of the diminished picture gallery at the Escorial, that was in Charles's collection, not the much damaged picture of the same subject from the Hamilton Palace collection, now in the National Gallery. The Escorial picture is a blue Tintoretto, one of the splendid decorative pieces in which his original colouring can still be divined.

A genuine Palma Giovine of high interest, catalogued as such in Charles's collection, is *The Expulsion of Heresy* (No. 159 at Hampton Court). The subsequent attribution to Tintoretto, whose style is here

[1] Appraised at £80, and sold for £100. In the Mantua Inventory we find, without the name of any painter, the following entry, referring, as we may assume, to the *Nine Muses* and *Esther before Ahasuerus* of Tintoretto, now at Hampton Court :—"Tre quadri grandi—in uno dipinto una battaglia navale—2° le nove Muse in aere—3° l'historia d'Ester avanti al rè Assuero." The first entry calls up the great *Battle on Sea and Land* by Tintoretto, No. 410 in the Prado Gallery, and once belonging to Philip IV. We do not know, however, that he obtained it from the collection of the English king.

[2] Sold for £120, and found in the possession of Emanuel de Critz, from whom recovered for the Royal Collection (*Hampton Court Catalogue*).

The Nine Muses. By Tintoretto. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

reflected by his follower, is more excusable than that to Paolo Veronese, with whose manner the work shows few if any real points of contact. There was, moreover, among the King's pictures a "*Prometheus chained to the Rock*, by young Palma," sold by the Commonwealth for £25. This is now No. 774 at Hampton Court, and so far as an opinion can be formed by examining the picture where it hangs, in the darkest of dark lobbies, the ascription is a justifiable one. There is great power in the design, in which Palma recalls this time Titian, and especially the master's similar canvas at Madrid.

Many things are in the catalogue of the Royal Collection attributed to the Veronese painter who became the most sparkling and brilliant of all the Venetian colourists, and renewed the art of Venice by a stimulating infusion of that of Verona; but the writer confesses himself unable to identify among those any canvases of importance undoubtedly from the brush of Paolo. No. 534 in the Prado Gallery is a *Marriage of Cana*, of important dimensions, bought on the dispersion of Charles's pictures, and ascribed to the master. The King owned among other things a little *Pharaoh's Daughter and the infant Moses*, which must have been very similar to the beautiful, though much injured painting in the Prado Gallery, the dimensions of which are not much greater. The subject was, by reason of its sumptuous adjuncts, one of the most popular of its class with the followers of Veronese. The picture of *Faith in a white habit with a Communion cup in one hand . . .* (Vanderdoort, p. 136) is evidently copied from the beautiful figure, all shimmering in its silver draperies, which appears in Paolo's masterpiece in the Doges' Palace—the resplendent canvas in which he commemorates Venetia's share in the Lepanto victory.

It is unfortunately impossible to refer in detail to the other Venetian pictures in the collection, including interesting examples of Bernardino Licinio, the Bonifazi, Paris Bordone, various members of the Bassano group, Schiavone, and the Veneto-Brescian Savoldo, as to many of which valuable information will be found in the Hampton Court Catalogue.

It will suffice to enumerate, among many other things at Hampton Court, the so-called *Family of Pordenone* and *Lady Playing on the Virginals*, both by Bernardino Licinio; the so-called *St. Ignatius Loyola*, a noble portrait, ascribed not without reason to Tintoretto; the important *Christ with the Woman of Samaria*, by Bonifazio Veronese II.; the very remark-

able *Shepherds' Offering*, by one of the Bassanos, probably Leandro, since it is harder and less transparent than Jacopo, the head of the school, generally is; *The Deluge*, by one of the same group; the fresh and brilliant *Diana and Actæon*, absurdly ascribed to Giorgione; the *Warrior in Armour* (called *Gaston de Foix*), and the *Holy Family with two Donors*, both by Savoldo, and both of them original replicas of pictures respectively

The Expulsion of Heresy. By Palma Giovine. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

in the Louvre and the Turin Gallery. Savoldo was one of the very few masters of the great time who undoubtedly did repeat themselves in this fashion. The *Magdalen*, of which original versions, differing in colour, are at Berlin and in the National Gallery, is another case in point.

Dosso Dossi is a Ferrarese, and yet Venetian art did so much to shape his style that he follows here most appropriately upon the Venetians themselves. The so-called *St. William Armed* has already been discussed

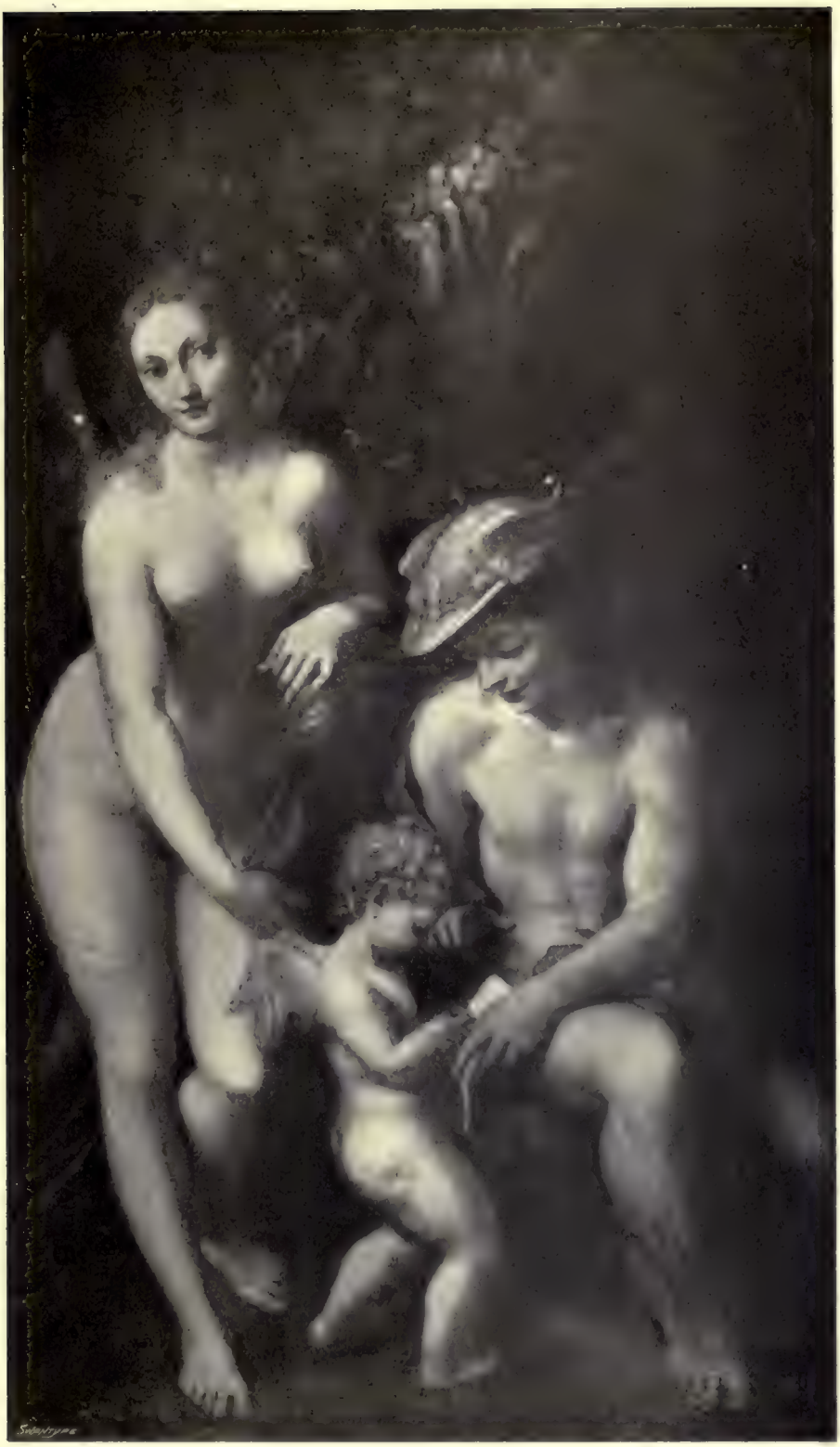
as one of his most characteristic works, and as a picture which, while almost invariably passing under a wrong name, has enjoyed an extraordinary popularity. It has been noted that it was catalogued by Vanderdoort as a Michael Coxcie, by the Commonwealth as a Giorgione, and rightly given in King James's catalogue as a Dosso. As already pointed out, Charles may possibly have possessed two editions of the work—the original and one of the Netherlandish copies, such as those in Vienna.[1] The imaginative eccentricity of Dosso is characteristically if not happily exhibited in the large *Holy Family*[2] (No. 97 at Hampton Court), a picture which was in the Mantua inventory of 1627, and also in that of the Commonwealth. The rare vein of serio-comic poetry, which lends enchantment to conceptions like the *Circe* of the Borghese Gallery, serves to impart to the sacred subject here fantastically treated in the same style, a strange and repellent novelty.

Next to Charles's Titians—nay, before them if we were to judge only by the prices which they afterwards attained—were his Correggios, forming a series of mythological and allegorical subjects for which it would be hard to find a parallel in any collection. The *Jupiter and Antiope* (No. 20 in the Louvre), if we must account it a conception, the refined sensuousness of which is not elevated by the magic of the higher imagination—by such a vein of poetry as Giorgione and, sometimes as a reflection from him, Titian infused into their outwardly more realistic productions of the same class—is at any rate one of the marvels of pure painting at its highest. Not inferior in this respect must have been once the familiar *Education of Cupid* in the National Gallery, though it has not the fascination of the ruined *Leda* of Berlin or the *Danaë* of the Borghese Gallery.[3] No. 276 at Hampton Court is the charming *Holy Family with St. James*, in Correggio's early, but not earliest manner, since it dates after that landmark of the first style the great *Virgin with St. Francis* at Dresden. The *St. Catherine Reading* (No. 281 at Hampton Court), in respect of which modern criticism is, notwithstanding certain obvious weaknesses of execution, inclined to

[1] Vanderdoort could scarcely have called *this* original, with its pronounced, disc-like halo, "*Charles Audax, Duke of Burgundy.*"

[2] Valued at £80; sold for £100.

[3] This great picture was for a time in the collection of the Duke of Bridgewater, and afterwards in that of Henry Hope, before it was acquired by the Princess Borghese.



The Education of Cupid. By Correggio. National Gallery.

maintain the name of Correggio, is not conclusively shown to have been in Charles I.'s collection, though it was in that of James II. The King did not possess the original of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, now in the Louvre; but at any rate he owned a good copy of it, presented by the Duke of Buckingham, which it is not, however, safe to identify with the feeble *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (No. 245 at Hampton Court). In this last the copyist has wholly left to the imagination the martyrdom of St. Sebastian in the background, to which Vanderdoort specially refers as being in the Duke of Buckingham's copy.

No two paintings in the Royal Collection were described with such care and minuteness by Vanderdoort as the two celebrated temperas by Correggio, *The Flaying of Marsyas* and *An Allegory*, both of them at the Louvre, in one of the suite of galleries devoted to cartoons and drawings.

His description is (p. 76): "One large and famous picture painted upon cloth in water-colours, kept shut up in a wooden case, where they are tormenting and flaying Marsyas . . . ." And again: "Item. The second, another the like piece in water-colours of Anthony Correggio, being an unknown story containing four entire figures in a landskip, and four angels in the clouds . . . ." The two pieces are also in the South Kensington Museum Inventory as *A Satire Flead* (*sic*) and *Another of the same* (a quaint mode of avoiding difficulties of interpretation)—the high price of £1,000 each, which, indeed, they fetched, being set against them. By far the finer work of the two is the *Marsyas*, which is above all remarkable, apart from the harmonious rhythm of the composition and the usual *tours de force* in the way of foreshortening, for the expression of blood-lust, of an implacable cruelty, in the beautiful, androgynous creatures who execute the behests of the offended god.[1] In the *Allegory* the group of angels in the clouds is in design one of Correggio's most audacious effects, but the composition, as a whole, is confused and ungraceful, and its execution, whether in the landscape or the figures, appears much less convincingly the master's own than that of the companion piece.

Vanderdoort (p. 97, No. 6) catalogues as by Correggio, "a high,

[1] It must be noted that Signor Corrado Ricci, the able Director of the Parma Gallery, has, in his new *Life of Correggio*, named the two pieces *Vice* and *Virtue*—a designation more convincing in the latter than the former case.

narrow piece, being a standing St. John Baptist, holding in his left hand

Holy Family with St. James. By Correggio. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

a cane-cross, and with his right hand pointing forwards, which piece the King brought from Spain (5 ft. 1 in. by 1 ft. 8 in.)." We have here

evidently either the original or one of the numerous copies of the *St. John the Baptist* on one of the wings of the lost triptych, painted by the master for the high altar of Santa Maria della Misericordia at Correggio—the centre showing *Christ the Redeemer*, and the other wing *St. Bartholomew*.[1]

The name of Parmentius, or Pernentius, or Parmensis—intended in each case to designate Parmegianino—occurs frequently in the Royal Catalogue and the Inventories, generally, however, in relation to pictures erroneously ascribed to the great, if mannered, Parmese painter, whose influence was so wide and so pernicious in and outside Italy. A genuine example from the Royal Collection is, however, among others that might be cited, the *St. Catherine*, now No. 444 in the Vienna Gallery.

In dealing with the paintings of the sixteenth century produced by Northern artists of the Netherlandish, German, and French schools, it has been found convenient to include two panels of Albrecht Dürer which, properly speaking, fall within the limits of the fifteenth century. These are the pictures presented by the city of Nuremberg, through the Earl Marshal, Lord Arundel, to Charles I. One is the well-known *Portrait of the Painter by himself*, dated 1498, and now No. 1316 in the Prado Gallery, of which there exists a fine repetition in the Painters' Gallery of the Uffizi. The other is the *Portrait of Dürer's Father*, dated 1497, of which the original is in the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Syon House, an old copy being in the Munich Gallery, and another in the Staedel Institut at Frankfort. Our admirable *Portrait of a Young Man*, No. 589 at Hampton Court, is a genuine example of the Nuremberg master, which until quite recently has been strangely neglected by modern criticism. It was in Vanderdoort's catalogue as "A red-faced man's picture without a beard . . . ," and it is stated in Mr. Law's *Historical Catalogue* that hidden within the frame is the usual monogram, with the date 1506. It is the more easy to accept this date as the genuine one, seeing that the style of the picture shows the influence of Venetian portraiture as it was developed under the influence of Antonello de Messina. The characterisation is here far truer, the

[1] The *St. John* is engraved in Corrado Ricci's *Antonio Allegri da Correggio*, &c., which may be consulted for further particulars.

Portrait of a Young Man. By Albrecht Dürer. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

painting more homogeneous than in such sensational examples of portraiture as the *Dürer by himself*, of 1500, at Munich, and the famous *Hieronymus Holzschuher* of Berlin.

Charles's Holbeins do not appear to have equalled either in number or quality the great collection of the Earl of Arundel, which had been enriched from former Royal collections and out of the King's own store. Nevertheless there may be traced among them—apart from the purely historical pieces now at Hampton Court, which were catalogued in his name in later times as covering the whole school—a number of the Bâle painter's most interesting portraits. The *John Reskemeer of Cornwall*, No. 610, at Hampton Court is too familiar to need description. The *Elizabeth, Lady Vaux*, No. 591, which is accepted as a genuine original by Woltmann and other authorities is, in the opinion of the writer, not more than a good old copy of the picture at Prague. It is in all probability the latter, and not the Hampton Court panel, which was *The Picture of Madame de Vaux*, by Holbein, in the Duke of Buckingham's collection. It has been seen that many of the pictures originally belonging to that nobleman passed into Archduke Leopold William's collection, and that some of these last remained at Prague. The *Frobenius*, on the other hand (No. 603 at Hampton Court), though not accounted an original by Woltmann, has very serious claims to be admitted as a genuine work of the earlier Bâle period, while the *Erasmus* (No. 597 *ibid.*), though it was, as we are told, arranged as a diptych with its companion-piece by Erasmus himself, intending a memorial to his dead friend, cannot for a moment be accepted as such.[1] The Duke of Buckingham secured the *Frobenius* and *Erasmus* from the well-known collector and agent, Michel Le Blon, and presented them to Charles, as we learn from the following inscriptions in the handwriting of the time on the back of the former: "This picture of Frobonus was delivered to his M^{t}. by y^{e} Duke of Buckingham (before he went to the) Isle of Ree." The pictures were enlarged for the King, and the backgrounds then repainted with elaborate architectural additions by Steenwyck, which may, to a certain extent, account for the difficulty in deciding whether Holbein's own hand is to be traced in both or one of them, or as Waagen and Woltmann hold, in neither. The

[1] This pair of pictures were sold by the Commonwealth for £100 each.

Erasmus of the Salon Carré—the only rival of which, as a presentment

Portrait of Frobenius. By Holbein. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

by Holbein of the great humanist, is the panel at Longford Castle—has been fully dealt with in a previous section. The *Sir Thomas*

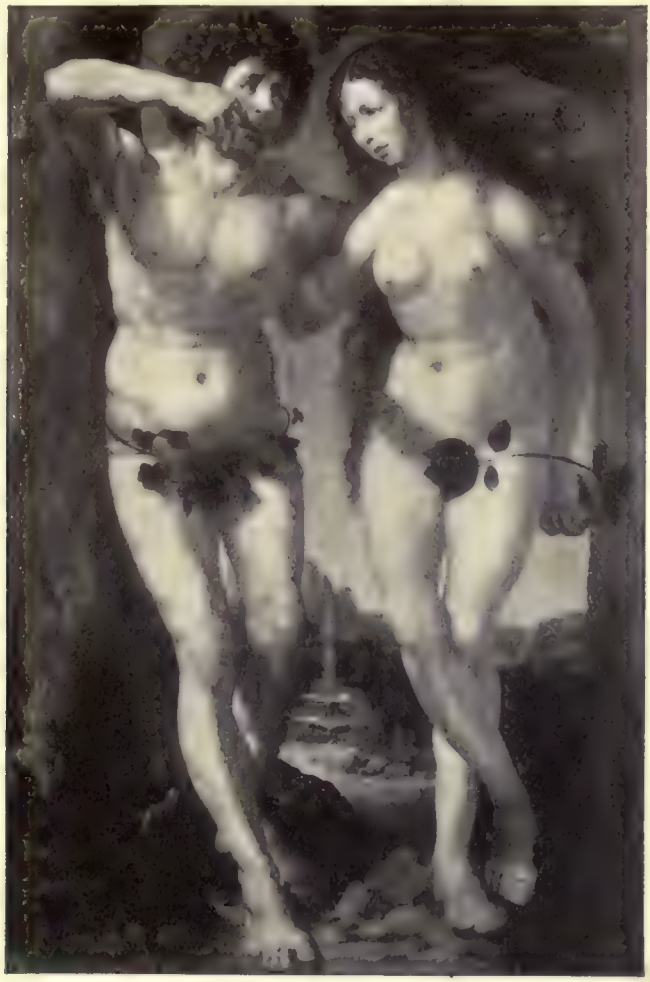
More with a black cap and furred gown with red sleeves of Vanderdoort's catalogue, has been identified notwithstanding certain differences of dimensions, with the noble portrait of 1527 in the Huth collection (No. 99 in the Tudor Exhibition), of which there exists in the Prado Gallery a fine copy by Rubens (No. 1609), showing, however, more of the figure than is now seen in the original. It might fairly be inferred from this that Mr. Huth's picture has been cut down since it was in the Royal Collection. The *Portrait of a Goldsmith of the Stahlhof* (Hans van Antwerpen?) now at Windsor Castle was in Charles's collection, as were the two beautiful miniatures by Holbein, depicting children of the Duke of Brandon, also to be found there. The admirable little *Picture of Queen Elizabeth when she was young to the waist in a red habit*,[1] . . . called "a Whitehall piece by Holbein," and until lately at St. James's Palace, from whence it has been removed to Windsor, is no Holbein but probably the work of an accomplished Netherlander. The great fresco painting done by Holbein at Whitehall of *Henry VIII. with Jane Seymour* and *Henry VII. with Elizabeth Woodville*, would naturally, as an integral part of the decoration, remain unnoticed by Vanderdoort. It perished utterly in the great fire of 1698, but luckily the Flemish artist, Remigius van Leemput, had by order of Charles II. made from it, in 1667, the excellent little copy which is No. 601 at Hampton Court. This usefully supplements the original cartoon by Holbein for the side of the fresco showing Henry VIII. with Henry VII. above him,[2] which is all that remains of one of the master's most famous works. The splendid *Queen Jane Seymour* of the Vienna Gallery had in King Charles's time already found its way into the collection of Emperor Rudolph II. at Prague.

Mabuse is represented by his *Children of Christian II. of Denmark*, No. 595 at Hampton Court, the original of many repetitions. The picture cannot even now quite shake off the erroneous designation *The Children of Henry VII.* given to it in later times. The large Italo-Flemish *Adam and Eve*, No. 385 at Hampton Court, is next to the much earlier *Adoration of the Kings* at Castle Howard, the most important example of this master's art to be found in England.

[1] No. 195 at the Old Masters in 1880 as a Holbein.

[2] No. 42 at the Tudor Exhibition (collection of the Duke of Devonshire).

It serves, notwithstanding, the astonishing precision of the execution, to show how much Mabuse deteriorated when, like many of his most skilful countrymen of the same transitional period, he strove to speak



Adam and Eve. By Mabuse. Hampton Court.
From a photograph by Messrs. Spooner & Co.

in a tongue foreign to him, and to assume the suave graces of the Italian Renaissance. Another very similar work by the Master of Maubeuge is the *Adam and Eve* of the Berlin Gallery, in which collection is also a *Neptune and Amphitrite* of the same late type, signed

and dated 1516. In the collection of Charles I. was also to be found another picture ascribed to Mabuse—the very curious altar-piece with *The Conversion of St. Matthew*, now in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace. It is said to have formed part of the booty taken by the Earl of Essex in his expedition against Cadiz in 1596.

The King's collection included the two superb portraits by Joos van Cleve—Sotto Cleve, Clef le Fol, Foolish Cleve, as he was then variously called—of the painter himself and his wife, the same which are now at Windsor Castle. This artist, one of the greatest Flemish painters of the early sixteenth century, has fallen a little out of the knowledge of our time, chiefly because his recognised pictures are so few, and must be sought for mainly at Windsor and Munich, or in the Uffizi. An effort has very recently been made to identify him with that prolific and accomplished painter, but elusive artistic personality, the *Meister des Todes der Maria*, but on grounds which appear but remotely connected with the style and technique of the still anonymous Netherlander who painted at Cologne in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, and there acquired certain German characteristics.

Among the French pictures in the Collection may be mentioned the two portraits of Mary Queen of Scots, in her white robes as widowed Queen of France, both derived from the same original drawing by François Clouet in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, the better of which is to be identified as the picture—now at Windsor, and formerly No. 631 at Hampton Court—known as *Le Deuil blanc.* A replica of this panel is in the collection of Mr. Alfred Morrison. The finest example of the French art of the period in England is the *Eleanor of Austria, second consort of Francis I.*, No. 561 at Hampton Court which cannot at present be traced in the Royal Collection earlier than the reign of Charles II. Unattractive as the faithful portrait of a Hapsburg princess will inevitably be, it is of the most precious workmanship, and has serious claims to be considered an original by Jean Clouet—the real Janet. The picture, like many others at Hampton Court, was until quite lately in an alarming state, threatening its very existence as a work of art; it has now been properly cared for, with the result that it stands forth, one of the most remarkable portraits in the gallery.

The curious *Allegorical Picture of Queen Elizabeth*, which is No. 635

at Hampton Court, is the *Piece of Queen Elizabeth, Juno, and Pallas*, sold by the Commonwealth for the modest sum of £2. The frame, which is the original one, bears on it the following compliment, which, outrageous as it was, must have been quite to the taste of the Virgin Queen :—

"Juno potens sceptris et mentis acumine Pallas;
Et roseo Veneris fulget in ore decus.
Adfuit Elizabeth, Juno perculsa refugit;
Obstupuit Pallas, erubuitque Venus."

Another point of interest about this unlovely piece is to note how De Heere, a true Netherlander of the sixteenth century—of the school led by Frans Floris—is bent on "Italianising" in allegory, but the moment he touches portraiture regains his feet and falls into the true style of his country.

Ascribed to Federigo Zuccaro is the *Queen Elizabeth's Giant Porter*, No. 20 at Hampton Court, retained there by Cromwell as one of the curiosities of the Palace, and undoubtedly by the Italian painter the curious *Calumny of Apelles*, No. 394 there. These pieces should of course have been mentioned under the section dealing with Italian art.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

It is again necessary, in order to confine this notice within the prescribed limits, to take a great leap, omitting altogether most of the minor and some of the major luminaries of painting in the seventeenth century, who found a place at King Charles's court or in his collections; or at the best contenting ourselves with the passing reference to some of them, which is to be found in the preceding pages. Thus we must perforce abstain from all comment on the pictures by and attributed to Van Valkenborgh, the Breughels, Roelant Savery, Michiel Janson, Mirevelt, Paul Brill, P. Neefs, Daniel Seghers, Jan Torrentius of Haarlem, Henry Pot, Breenberg, among the contemporary masters of the Netherlands. A bald record of the fact must suffice that Charles possessed a little Adam Elsheimer, *The Witch with Cupids*, No. 733 at

Hampton Court, besides pictures by Rottenhammer. But scant courtesy can be shown even to such painters, more immediately under the King's patronage, as Daniel Mytens, Cornelius Janson van Ceulen, Gerard Honthorst, Steenwyck the younger, Poelenburg, Van Bassen, Peter Oliver, Michael Cross or Miguel de la Cruz, Dobson, "Old" Stone, Hanneman, and Van der Faes, better known as Sir Peter Lely (the last of the arrivals). We must pass over too in silence the sculptors—even the grandiose chief of the Barocco School, Bernini, and those able craftsmen Le Sœur and Fanelli—and the enameller Petitot, whose training at the court of Charles I under the influence of Van Dyck prepared him for the great position which he afterwards took up at the court of Louis XIV.

The unquestioned head of the later Bolognese School, Guido Reni, was represented among other things by the *Venus attired by the Three Graces*, presented by William IV. in 1836 to the National Gallery, and now transferred to the National Gallery of Scotland at Edinburgh.

Originally from Mantua, and duly catalogued as such among the King's possessions, were the four large canvases with *Labours of Hercules*, now in the Long Gallery of the Louvre; they are in Guido's earlier and more robust manner. Catalogued as by the Bolognese *caposcuola* were further a *Judith and Holofernes* and a *Head of St. Peter*. The powerful leader of the Naturalists, Michelangelo da Caravaggio, was represented by the vast *Death of the Virgin*, now also in the Long Gallery of the Louvre, as well as by a curiously-named picture *Dorcas lying Dead*, appraised at £150, and sold for £170.

The seventeenth-century Roman painter Domenico Feti — not easily recognisable at first under his transformed name Phetti—was copiously represented in the Royal Gallery. There are still to be found at Hampton Court from the brush of this artist, who was painter-in-ordinary to the Duke of Mantua—the same who afterwards negotiated the sale of the Mantuan Collection to King Charles—an eccentric *David with the Head of Goliath* (No. 151), and a series of *Twelve Saints* (No. 506), seven of which, if not all, were Mantua pieces.

Among the numerous works commissioned of Daniel Mytens by Charles I., several will be found accurately described in the Historical Catalogue of Hampton Court. Perhaps the one most intimately con-

nected with the Stuart King, and certainly the one which stands forth most distinctly above the level of the painter's sincere and skilful, but cold and prosaic portraiture, is the fine, and for Mytens, unusually sympathetic *Charles I.* of the Turin Gallery, painted in 1627, and furnished with a splendid architectural background by Steenwyck. Hardly less imposing is the portrait-group at Buckingham Palace, showing, about the same date, the royal pair, Charles and Henrietta Maria; a replica of this last being in the collection of Lord Galway.

The King possessed an early portrait of *Rembrandt by Himself*, which is thus described in Vanderdoort's catalogue: "Item. Above my Lord Ankrom's door the picture done by Rembrandt, being his own picture and done by himself, in a black cap and furred habit, with a little gold chain hung upon both his shoulders, in an oval and square black frame (2 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 11 in.)"

This in all the details, in the oval form, as in the dimensions of the canvas, agrees very well indeed with the *Portrait de Rembrandt*, No. 413 at the Louvre, painted in 1634. The catalogue being drawn up in 1639, the portrait would have just had time to get into the Royal Collection.

This is one of the series which depicts the young painter of Leyden in all the energy and passion of his quickly achieved success, just at the moment when he had made Saskia his bride. He is decked out in all the fantastic splendours with which he loved to adorn his own person, and still more that of his new wife. The Louvre catalogue does not trace the picture back beyond the collection of the Duc de Choiseul. Vanderdoort's catalogue further records, as works by Rembrandt presented, like the last-named portrait, to King Charles by Lord Ankrom (Ancrum?), two other pieces. One is described as "A young scholar sitting upon a stool, in a purple cap and black gown, reading in a book by a sea-coal fire . . . . (5 ft. 1 in. by 4 ft. 3 in. This is singularly like a Rembrandt, *L'Etudiant*, described by Olaf Granberg in his work *Les Collections privée de la Suède*, as being in the Ugglas collection, and by him praised as a masterpiece; unfortunately, however, the dimensions of the two canvases do not agree. The *Old Woman*, as catalogued by Vanderdoort, recalls more than one extant picture of Rembrandt's mother. The *Man's Head* and the so-called *Prospect of Greenwich* (?) which the

South Kensington Inventory connects with Rembrandt's name have already been referred to.

What chiefly surprises the student who remembers Rubens's connection, first with the Duke of Buckingham, then with Charles himself, is the comparative paucity of his works in the Royal Collection, that is considering the opportunities of which Charles might during the lifetime of the Antwerp master have availed himself. In 1640, at the death of Rubens, the horizon was already black and threatening. The king, to whom the catalogue of Rubens's pictures and effects was duly sent, could no longer come forward as a purchaser; he was at that time reduced to cutting down the salary and the prices of his favourite Van Dyck, and he had not, as we must infer, the spirit or the credit to compete with the many illustrious connoisseurs who were attracted by the rich and varied succession. Philip IV., whom we have learned to look upon as the incarnation of impassive and frozen correctness, had all the same a most pronounced taste for Rubens's latest and least draped nudities, such as the blond, dazzling *Three Graces*, and the great *Judgment of Paris*, of the Prado Gallery; and he, even more than his brother, the Cardinal-Archduke Ferdinand, was the great patron of Sir Peter Paul's closing years. After his death the Spanish king purchased from the succession the colossal *St. George* of the Antwerp master's early time, now in the *Sala de la Reina Isabel* of the Prado, and it is from thence, too, that he obtained the sumptuous *Adam and Eve*, and *Rape of Europa*, copied from Titian in Madrid.

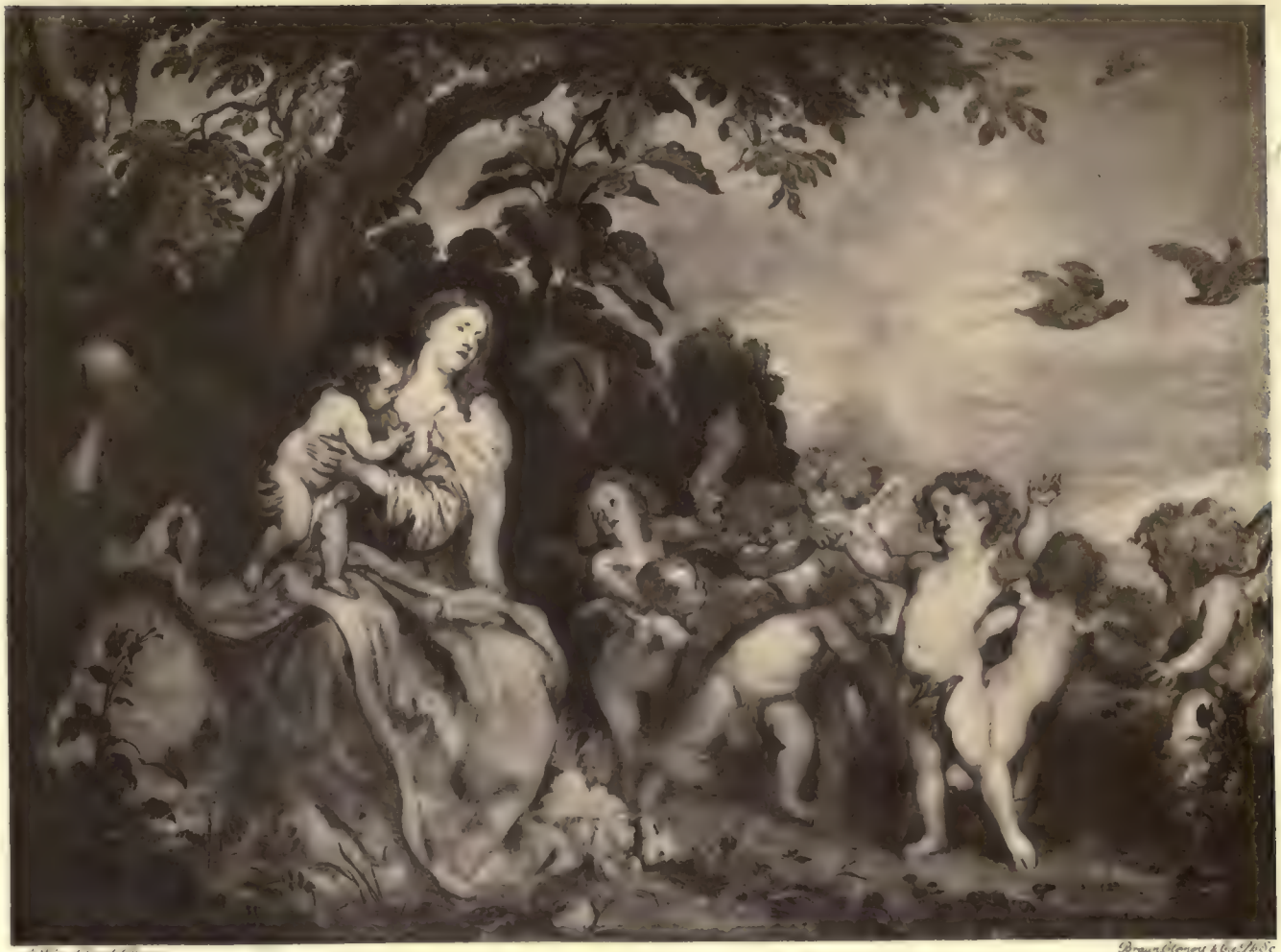
One might have imagined this last huge canvas to be the *Great St. George*, of Vanderdoort's catalogue, had it not been that the picture remained among Rubens's possessions down to the time of his death. The one other *Great St. George* is the Buckingham Palace picture (badly hung and badly seen), in which the warrior has the features of Charles I. and the St. Cleodolinda, those of Henrietta Maria. There is the strongest presumption, based upon the subject itself, and the models chosen by the artist, that this last work was painted, or at any rate designed, in England, and that it passed into King Charles's possession. M. Rooses does not exactly controvert, but yet he does not maintain this view. But to what *Great St. George* by Rubens can we point besides the two pictures just mentioned? The exhaustive catalogue of M.

Rooses himself gives no other complete picture of this subject. The famous and extraordinarily popular *Rubens by Himself*, at Windsor, has already been discussed at length. The large, ugly *Daniel in the Lions' Den* was in the Hamilton Palace collection, and has since its dispersion been seen again in the auction-room. The same robust model served for the prophet here, and for the nude St. Sebastian in the magnificent work at Berlin, in which the saint appears bound naked to a tree.

The *Peace and War*, of the National Gallery—more accurately described as *Minerva Protecting Peace Against War*—has also been noticed as a canvas painted in England in 1629–30, and presented to the King. We have seen that Rubens's copy of one of Titian's portraits of *Isabella d'Este Gonzaga* was in all probability catalogued in the Royal Collection as an original by the Venetian master. Still unidentified is the *Portrait of the Duke of Mantua's Brother*, painted by Rubens during his sojourn at the Mantuan court. The *Woman in Black*, in Vanderdoort's catalogue, is not the fine *Isabelle Brant*, now at Windsor Castle. This last portrait, a drawing for which, formerly in the Peel collection, is now in the National Gallery, remained together with the *Chapeau de Paille* (*Poil*), of the National Gallery, and the *Prairie de Laeken*, in the possession of Rubens's descendants, and was not united to that of the lady's magnificent spouse, until it was purchased by George IV. in 1820. It has been shown that the *Judith and Holofernes*, which belonged to Charles when he was Prince of Wales, and was by no means one of his most treasured possessions, is to be identified with the very exaggerated version of the subject, painted in the master's early time, and engraved by Corn. Galle. Among the original sketches for the Whitehall Ceiling are the *Apotheosis of James I.* and *James Designating Charles as King of Scotland*, at the Hermitage, the *Religion Crowned by a Genius*, in the Lacaze section of the Louvre, and the *Benefits of King James's Government*, in the Academy of Arts at Vienna. None of these, however, came into the King's possession. The *Birth of Venus* (*Design for a Silver Dish*), now No. 1195 in the National Gallery, was together with a companion *Design for a Ewer*, painted by Rubens for Charles I. It is a very characteristic example of his mode in purely decorative work—finely balanced for all its Flemish exuberance, and well adapted for realisation in silver *repoussé* relief.

It appears unnecessary to enumerate over again the great canvases by Van Dyck which were done for the King and retained to adorn the Royal residences. If Sir Anthony did not until he reached the climax of his last English manner, achieve that wonderful silveriness of tone, that delicate radiance of colour, or that supreme elegance which we admire in the Turin *Three Children of Charles I.* and the best portraits of the same time, or the more daring brilliancy of the *Rachel Countess of Southampton*, his earlier styles had their own deeper pathos, perhaps in a way their more solid merits. Of the first Flemish manner, that which was marked by an exaggerated brutality in passion such as a gentle nature sometimes brings forth when forced against itself, King Charles had nothing to show. This particular style is best seen in the Galleries of Madrid, Dresden, Munich, and Berlin. Of the darkly-glowing, stately Italian or Genoese style, as it is exemplified in the Dorchester House *Lady of the Balbi Family*, and Lord Cowper's *Children of the Balbi Family*, there was again no example. To illustrate the accomplished Italo-Flemish style which marks Van Dyck's return to Antwerp, and the resumption by Rubens of a part of his influence, we have the charming *Madone aux Perdrix*, of the Hermitage, a canvas of imposing dimensions once in Lord Orford's collection at Houghton, as were among many other things those two other Van Dycks of the Hermitage, the pendant portraits of Charles and his Queen, given to Lord Wharton.

To this period belongs, besides the *Nicholas Laniere* already more than once mentioned, the *Henri Liberti, organist of the Cathedral of Antwerp*—that curious presentment of the smooth-faced, golden-haired musician, which is catalogued without its name, yet so as to be easily recognisable, by Vanderdoort. Of this there exist versions at Munich, at Madrid, and in the collection of the Duke of Grafton, the first-named being the best. The Catalogue gives further among the court-painter's pictures owned by the King a *Portrait of Count Henry Vandenburgh* (Van den Berg) *done by Van Dyck beyond the Seas.* There is a portrait answering to this description at Windsor Castle, and a magnificent original of the same design—one of the most virile performances of the artist—in the Prado Gallery at Madrid. The *Portrait of Van Dyck by Himself* at Windsor Castle has been generally identified with that catalogued by



La Madone aux Perdrix.

Vanderdoort. This Windsor piece M. Max Rooses deems, however, to be an original though injured portrait of the pupil by the master, Rubens, completed perhaps by another hand. He seeks to identify it with the *Vandycke in a Dutch Habit*, which was in King James II.'s Gallery as a Rubens. That collection contained, it must be remembered, besides the above, a "*Van Dyck by Himself*."

To this second Flemish time must belong too the *Rinaldo and Armida*, which has been identified with the picture No. 141, in the Louvre, but may very likely turn out to be the more important and quite different version in the collection of the Duke of Newcastle (No. 19, at the Van Dyck Exhibition of the Grosvenor Gallery). Yet another piece of this type and period is the less important *Cupid and Psyche*, No. 663, at Hampton Court. That most imposing *portrait d'apparat*, the *Princess of Phalsburg with a Negro Page*, though painted in Flanders, belongs in time (1634), as in style and colouring, to the English period.[1] *The Duchess of Richmond as St. Agnes*, a picture which may have given Sir Joshua Reynolds the first idea for a class of masquerading portraits which are by no means his most admirable, is in the Van Dyck room at Windsor. Petworth holds the *Lady Shirley in a fantastic habit supposed to be a Persian habit* described by Vanderdoort. Then we have the *Prince Charles-Louis and Prince Rupert*, No. 144, in the Louvre, once in Charles's Gallery as *The King's Nephew, Prince Charles, Elector Palatine, together with his brother, Prince Robert.* It is one of those portrait-groups of two noble youths, in which the painter so often excelled, although in more complicated arrangements of figures he as usually failed. No painter has depicted the ingenuous grace of fresh, unsullied youth with the sympathetic intuition shown by Van Dyck; and to be convinced of this we need only recall those yet more beautiful portrait-groups, the *Lord John and Lord Bernard Stuart*, in the two distinct versions belonging to the Cowper and Darnley collections respectively. The *Duke of Buckingham and his Brother* (reproduced on page 59) now at Windsor, and formerly among King Charles's pictures,

[1] It has generally been identified with the full-length in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle. A splendid original by Van Dyck, answering in all respects to Vanderdoort's description, was contributed by Lord Iveagh to the Old Masters in 1892. Is this the same or another picture?

is another instance in point. The two beautiful boys, sons of the comely George Villiers, win all hearts by their brave yet modest bearing.

To quite a different order of portraiture belongs the *Mistress Lemon*, of Hampton Court, that voluptuous siren who metamorphosed herself into a vengeful fury when the gentle favourite of Charles slipped from her bonds, and obeying his sovereign's behests, plighted himself to Lady Mary Ruthven. In this undisguisedly sensuous mode of presenting the physical charms of woman, based on one phase of Venetian portraiture, and that the least admirable, we find already in the bud the whole art of Lely, which was twenty years later to bear blossoms so brilliant, so heavily scented, so coarse.

More noteworthy from the historical standpoint than pictorially attractive is *the Procession of the King and the Knights of the Garter on St. George's Day*, a design done by Van Dyck as a preparation for the great decorative paintings which he was to execute, but never did paint or even commence, in the Banqueting House of Whitehall. This was engraved by R. Cooper, in 1780, and is now in the collection of the Duke of Rutland. The weak spot in the armour of the supremely accomplished artist is here only too apparent. He cannot compose with the requisite variety in unity a multitude of figures on the same plane, and thus his frieze-like painting would have been of an exasperating monotony, which not even brilliancy of colour could have wholly redeemed.

If King Charles had counted among his *protégés* a painter like Teniers, who, while he filled the office of keeper of the Archduke Leopold William's magnificent collection at Brussels, over and over again painted the saloons of his palace, with the pictures, for the most part now in the Vienna Gallery, as they hung on the walls,[1] we might have a better idea than we have of the Royal Collection as it actually appeared when distributed among the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Hampton Court, at Somerset House, and in the minor royal residences.

Still better would it have been could the art-loving prince have commanded for such a purpose the services of that marvellously patient Netherlander, anonymous as yet, who under the fantastic title of the *Studio of Apelles*,[2] has rendered a gallery of pictures (some originals, some,

[1] For Teniers's pictures of this class, see the galleries of Vienna and Munich.

[2] Royal Gallery of the Hague, No. 227.

as we must assume, copies) with such marvellous skill that the learned compilers of the new Hague catalogue have been able to identify every single work in the collection, including the *Carondelet* of Sebastian del' Piombo, the pictures by Quentin Matsys in the Louvre and the Staedel Institut of Frankfort, the *Venus blindfolding Love* of the Borghese Gallery, &c. The Flemish temperament of Teniers forces its way unconsciously through, whether he paints the *Three Philosophers* of Giorgione, the *Ecclesiastic* of Catena, a *Sacred Conversation* by Bonifazio, or a *Deposition* by Lorenzo Lotto. This anonymous craftsman, inferior to him as an artist but greatly superior as a copyist, is absolutely impersonal and absolutely veracious.

Let us imagine for a moment—and the effort of imagination required is after all not a very great one, or the case pre-supposed at all improbable—let us imagine the stars less inauspicious, and King Charles adding to his own great collection the brightest jewels of the Duke of Buckingham's gallery, begun before his own and prematurely brought to a standstill by the assassination of the splendour-loving nobleman in 1628. Under happier circumstances, and with a better filled exchequer, the King would certainly not have allowed the art treasures of his favourite to slip from his grasp when he was sending so far afield to add to his own store. Let us see then whether the two collections combined would not have constituted a whole eclipsing in magnificence and artistic worth all the royal and private galleries of the King's own time, or the succeeding century; whether on its own ground the whole thus made up has been surpassed, or even equalled, by the greatest of the public galleries, as they are to-day—by the galleries of the Prado, of the Uffizi and the Pitti, of the Louvre, of the Accademia at Venice, by the Dresden Gallery, the Hermitage, the National Gallery, the Berlin Gallery, or the Alte Pinakothek of Munich.

It has been seen how the *Quattrocento* was necessarily, and for obvious reasons, scantily represented. Still, the Royal Collection could show on its walls the finest purely decorative work of that period at its climax, the *Triumph of Julius Cæsar* of Mantegna; and not the hopeless wreck which now at Hampton Court excites even more regret than admiration, but a series of temperas, bright and pure, in their sharply contrasted tints, and marked by that austere beauty peculiar to the master, which we may

conjure up for ourselves by a study of such late works as our *Madonna and Child with Saints* at the National Gallery, or the *Vierge des Victoires* and the *Parnassus* of the Louvre. The Cartoons of Raphael have already been estimated at their true worth, and luckily they remain the greatest artistic treasure of the British Crown.

We may no longer maintain *La Perla* in the commanding position claimed for it by the king's contemporaries, or agree with Philip IV., when he calls it the pearl of his collection, We may not set upon the avowed productions of Giulio Romano the high value which the seventeenth century evidently attributed to them. But none would be found to deny the artistic value of the St. Petersburg *St. George* by Raphael, or of the *Little Madonna with Christ*, if indeed it was, as the writer has ventured to surmise, the *Vierge de la Maison d'Orléans*. The King possessed in the *St. John the Baptist*, of the Louvre, a work which many connoisseurs of authority are still content to accept as from the hand of Leonardo da Vinci, besides a certain number of Milanese paintings of minor interest. What gallery of to-day of those most famous for their Correggios, save perhaps that of Parma—as rich in sacred as the gallery of Charles was in mythological works—can show a group surpassing the *Jupiter and Antiope*, of the Louvre, the two great temperas *Marsyas*, and *An Allegory* (*Vice* and *Virtue?*) of the same gallery, the *Education of Cupid*, of the National Gallery, and the *Holy Family with St. James*, of Hampton Court? In those days England possessed, in the *Concert Champêtre* of the Louvre, what she has no longer, a real and admirable *Giorgione;* to say nothing of the Giorgionesque *Shepherd with the Flute* of Hampton Court, and other school-pieces. But after all the Titians were the great glory of the King's gallery, and as a group united in one collection they have never again been equalled, even by the marvellous series in the Prado Gallery, or those only less admirable collections of works by the master, to be found in the Louvre, the Imperial Gallery of Vienna, the Accademia of Venice, and the Uffizi.

Imagine the *Twelve* (*or eleven*) *Emperors* hung on the second line as splendid decorations, together with some of the less satisfactorily certified Titians, of which a selection only have been enumerated. Then, below, the *Baffo presented to St. Peter by Alexander VI.*, the *Entombment* of the Louvre, the less admirable *Entombment* of Vienna (Duke of

Buckingham), the *Supper at Emmaus*, the so-called *Alfonso of Ferrara, and Laura de' Dianti*, the so-called *Alessandro de' Medici* of Hampton Court, the full-length *Charles V.* of Madrid, the *Venere del Pardo* of the Louvre, the *Girl in the Fur Cloak* of Vienna, the *Marqués del Vasto with his Family* of the Louvre, the great *Ecce Homo* of Vienna (Duke of Buckingham), the *Venus*, the *Herodias* or *Salome*, the *St. Margaret with the Dragon* of Madrid, the *Portrait of the Painter by Himself* also there; to say nothing of imposing but more doubtful examples, such as *The Marqués del Vasto haranguing his Troops*, and the large *Repose in Egypt* in the same rich gallery, and the *St. Sebastian* repeating the figure in the Brescia altarpiece. In addition to this unexampled series let it be remembered that England held at the same moment the great *Cornaro Family* of the Venetian master, now belonging to the Duke of Northumberland, but then in the possession of Van Dyck, from whose representatives it was acquired by the ancestor of the present duke. A copy of this picture made by "Old" Stone, probably for Charles I., is No. 444 at Hampton Court. The three splendid Tintorettos already enumerated, represented his fervent unrestrained genius as finely as it is represented in any European gallery outside Venice; leaving out of the question for the present all the works attributed to him, and those, not less numerous, which were given to Paolo Veronese, especially in the Duke of Buckingham's catalogue. As to these last it will be time to speak when they have been more satisfactorily identified.

Comment has already been made on the curious circumstance that Rubens should not have been more splendidly represented in the Royal Collection. The pictures belonging to Charles, supplemented by those at least equal to them, belonging to Buckingham, would have made up, all the same, a sufficiently representative show, though not one that could compare for a moment with the groups of works by the Antwerp master, now in the galleries of Antwerp, Madrid, Munich, and Vienna.

Van Dyck as a portrait-painter shone, we have seen, with an unrivalled splendour, though the would-be-brutal art of his earliest time and the sombre, courtly portraiture of his Italian manner were unrepresented, while the second Flemish style was only moderately illustrated. Windsor Castle retains much in its Van Dyck Room, but one would like

to reclaim from Turin its incomparable *Three Children of Charles I.*; from Dresden its fine copy, by Lely, of the most royal portrait burnt at Whitehall; to win back from the Louvre that precious ornament of the Salon Carré, *Le Roi à la Chasse*, and *The Elector Palatine with Prince Rupert;* from the Hermitage the *Madone aux Perdrix*, a beautiful example of Van Dyck's sacred art, which would be the more precious to us because that side of his artistic personality is only to be studied in the galleries of the Continent.

Regrets are, no doubt, vain things, and we shall be told that our country in the eighteenth century, and the earlier part of the nineteenth, gained, in the wonderful private collections of many illustrious families, an equivalent for what she lost when Charles's pictures were scattered; when many of Lord Arundel's most famous possessions remained permanently abroad; when the Duke of Buckingham's collection was almost wholly absorbed by foreign buyers. Still, to recall that England held, though only for a short quarter of a century, collections of pictures and works of art in many respects above rivalry, and as a group certainly without any equal in their own time; to see how, deliberately loosening her grasp on them, she enriched eager rivals whose gain has been permanent, is—it must be repeated, though the cry should become monotonous—even now to suffer an intolerable pang.

INDEX